

# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

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June, 1953

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# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

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## JEREMY TAYLOR AND THE FALL OF MAN

By PAUL ELMEN

Though Caroline moral theology has not lacked sympathetic analysts in our time, the history of the doctrine of the Fall of Man during the seventeenth century has still to be written.<sup>1</sup> Yet original sin was one of the favorite topics of the century, puddling the stream of many forgotten sermons and tracts, as well as providing the matter for *Paradise Lost*. It is noteworthy that during the years when John Milton and Jeremy Taylor were contemporaries at Cambridge University, the Fall of Man was a topic widely discussed. "I knew a learned professor of divinity," wrote Taylor, "whose ordinary lectures in the lady Margaret's chair for many years together, nine as I suppose or thereabouts, were concerning original sin, and the appendent questions."<sup>2</sup> In view of the prominence of the theme even before Milton gave it its classic expression, it is worth while to examine Taylor's views on the Fall, isolating the grounds of their unpopularity, and calling to our aid the criticism of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.<sup>3</sup>

### I

Taylor became directly concerned with the problem of the Fall when he began to gather material for his *Ductor Dubitantium* (1660). The need for establishing the principles of moral conduct seemed most pressing to the Anglican leaders, since their pulpit ministry had all but ceased during the years of the Commonwealth. But Taylor perceived that before a handbook on conduct would have relevance, he would have to deal with theories which held that the individual suffered inevitably from the Adamic guilt, despite the best of efforts to follow the advice of the casuists.<sup>4</sup>

The solution of the problem of the Fall advanced by Jeremy Taylor was singularly unsuccessful, since it angered his friends as well as

<sup>1</sup> Two recent studies of the practical divinity of the period are by H. R. McAdoo, *The Structure of Caroline Moral Theology* (London, 1949), and by Thomas Wood, *English Casuistical Divinity during the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1952).

<sup>2</sup> *The Whole Works of the Right Reverend Jeremy Taylor, D.D.*, ed. Reginald Heber, revised by Charles Page Eden (London, 1854), VII, 542. Taylor was in residence at Cambridge from 1626-1635; Milton was there from 1625-1632. The Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity during these years was the Puritan, Dr. Samuel Ward. His lectures, posthumously published, took the Augustinian position which was almost universally held during the period: "Peccatum originis est vitium, & depravatio naturae cujlibet homines ex Adamo naturaliter propagati." *Praelectiones de Peccato Originali*, Part II of *Sidneiani Praefecti*, ed. Seth Ward (London, 1658), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See C. J. Stranks, *Life and Writings of Jeremy Taylor* (London, 1952), pp. 149-61. A less satisfactory account is in Hugh Ross Williamson, *Jeremy Taylor* (London, 1952), pp. 84-95.

<sup>4</sup> *Unum Necessarium*, in *Works*, VII, 9.

his foes. In an unpublished letter to Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, Henry Hammond said, "Dr. Taylor's Book [*Unum Necessarium*] is a matter of much discourse, in the matter of Originall Sin disliked of many."<sup>6</sup> But the phrase "of many" has been crossed out, and the harsh phrase "by every one" written in its place. Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, wrote a letter to Richard Baylie, President of St. John's College, Oxford, expressing his strong displeasure. He said that he had seen some page proof of *Unum Necessarium* (1655), and that he had been particularly agitated by Chapter VI, which proposed what Anglicans and Presbyterians alike would consider an unorthodox solution to the problem of the Fall. In this chapter Taylor agreed with Pelagius that original sin was not an inherent evil; it was, he thought, no sin at all unless it issued in specific acts. He said that the Fall did not destroy our liberty, nor did it introduce the necessity of sinning. A man could justly be condemned only for the sins he had willfully committed.

Bishop Duppa wrote to Dr. Baylie that he urged Taylor not to publish the book, and told him "what a scandal it would bring both upon his person (who had otherwise merited so well) but [and?] upon his poor desolate mother the church." In a veiled threat which possibly explains why Taylor was later to be denied the preferment which his abilities deserved, Duppa said that "I wished him to consider whom he offended and whom he gratified in this." Taylor was not to be misled by considerations other than the merits of the case, and sent a reply which the bishop said "had more of defence than excuse in it." Indignant, Bishop Duppa wrote another futile letter of protest to Taylor. "In the mean time," he said to Dr. Baylie, "the printing of his book went on, and without any way of acquainting me with it, he was pleased to make use of my name in the very forehead of it."<sup>7</sup>

Despite Hammond's comment, *Unum Necessarium* had at least one appreciative reader—the diarist, John Evelyn.<sup>8</sup> But the opposition was formidable. John Warner, Bishop of Rochester, wrote two letters to Taylor objecting to his unorthodox views.<sup>9</sup> Robert Sanderson, old now and weary, wrote twice to the younger Thomas Barlow and asked him to undertake the refutation of Taylor's arguments.<sup>10</sup> Gilbert

<sup>6</sup> BM Add. MSS 4162, fol. 95. The date of the letter is some time in September, 1655.

<sup>7</sup> The letter is published in Taylor's *Works*, I, xlii-xliii. Taylor dedicated *Unum Necessarium* to the Earl of Carbery, but he addressed the prefatory letter to the Bishops of Sarum and Rochester (Brian Duppa and John Warner), as well as to the clergy of England. It is clear from his language that so far from implying that all these men endorsed his ideas on the Fall, he felt that they particularly needed conciliation.

<sup>8</sup> *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, ed. William Bray (London, 1887), III, 66.

<sup>9</sup> The letters, together with Taylor's reply, were published in 1656, and are printed in Taylor's *Works*, VII, 558-70.

<sup>10</sup> White Kennett published copies of the letters in his *Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil* (London, 1728), I, 381.

Sheldon, later Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote warning Taylor to recant what he had written, to explicate his position, or to write no more of original sin.<sup>10</sup> But Taylor, who is memorable in English history partly for being one of the early champions of free speech, was not to be dissuaded from giving his point of view. In 1656, while a prisoner in Chepstow Castle, he wrote *A Further Explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin*, and ingenuously dedicated it to the Bishop of Rochester. During the same year, as though provoked into prodigious literary efforts by the attempt to silence him, he wrote *Deus Justificatus*, in which he again tried to justify, in a manner unlike Milton, the ways of God to men. But his contemporaries thought that neither God nor Taylor was justified by the argument, and for four years alarmed Anglicans and angry Presbyterians wrote books in which his account of the Fall was denounced.<sup>11</sup>

Taylor's position was too close to that of the Roman Catholic theologians to please the more Calvinistic Anglican theorists.<sup>12</sup> Following the Tridentine formulary, he resisted the efforts of primitive theologians to exaggerate the perfection of the first man, and insisted instead that the prelapsarian Adam lived in a state of childish innocence. The arguments he used to support this thesis had been familiar since the time of Athanasius.<sup>13</sup> Adam existed in a state of *pura naturalia*, in which he would have died even had he not eaten of the forbidden fruit; but to this natural state God added a *donum superadditum*, a further gift which contained among other benefits the blessing of immortality. It was this additional gift which was lost in the Fall. Original sin was not a disease passed on by insemination; we have only ourselves to blame if our evil acts become worse through repetition. "For though the fall of Adam," wrote Taylor, "lost to him all those supernatural assistances which God put into our nature by way of grace, yet it is by accident that we are more prone to many sins than we are to virtue."<sup>14</sup>

The misfortune of the Fall, then, was only that our forefather consumed the wealth which might well have been ours by inheritance. All Taylor's rhetorical skill was needed to make this opinion seem consistent with the ninth of the Thirty-nine Articles, which held that man was "very far gone from original righteousness." Since the

<sup>10</sup> Kennett, *op. cit.*, I, 386. See also Christopher Wordsworth, *Ecclesiastical Biography* (London, 1810), V, 549-50.

<sup>11</sup> See *Certain Letters of Henry Jeanes . . . and Dr. Taylor*, in Taylor's *Works*, VII, 571-86; John Gaule, *Sapientia Justificata* (1657); Nathaniel Stephens, *Vindiciae Fundamenti* (1658); Herbert Thorndike, *An Epilogue to the Church of England* (1659); and Edward Worsley, *Truth Will Out* (London, 1665), sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> For the position of the Roman Catholic Church on original sin, see the article by B. V. Miller in *Teaching of the Catholic Church*, ed. George D. Smith (London, 1949), I, 327 ff.

<sup>13</sup> F. R. Tennant, *Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin* (Cambridge, 1903), pp. 311 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *The Great Exemplar*, in *Works*, II, 101.

phrase "original righteousness" carried primitivistic connotations in the usage of the time, this formulation implied a higher regard for the prelapsarian Adam, and a lower regard for the natural man, than Taylor could readily allow. In the ancient dispute between the Thomists, who said that the *donum superadditum* was Adam's possession at birth, and the followers of Duns Scotus, who said that it was given progressively, Taylor sided with the latter.<sup>15</sup> His argument in controversial matters is regularly optimistic, urging a possibility of cultural growth despite rude beginnings; and here he rejects the pessimistic Augustinian view, which regards the Fall as a saint's catastrophe, the headlong descent from a height which the generality of men have no hope of ever regaining. But since neither the Council of Trent nor the framers of the Thirty-nine Articles had described Adam's original condition in terms of mental, spiritual, and physical perfection, it cannot be said that Taylor departed significantly from the traditional position on this matter.

Yet Taylor reduced the importance of the Fall in order to reestablish the importance of man's free choice in moral situations. He minimized man's earlier perfection and denied his later degeneration. The Fall itself he described in negative terms:

This sin brought upon Adam all that God threatened, but no more. A certainty of dying, together with the proper effects and affections of mortality, was inflicted on him, and he was reduced to the condition of his own nature, and then begat sons and daughters in his own likeness, that is, in the proper temper and constitution of mortal men.<sup>16</sup>

In Scholastic terms, the Fall was not so much a *depravation* as a *deprivation*.

## II

It will be seen how little Taylor's view had in common with the radical views held by St. Paul, St. Augustine, and the Reformers. Among Taylor's contemporaries, the Presbyterians and the more Calvinistic of the Anglican divines could find common cause against him. According to their teaching, sin is an infection which is passed on from father to son by the act of conception; it is also a criminal state involving responsibility for an act committed in the "dark backward and abysm of time." More pessimistic theologians thought of actual sins as visible proof of a bias towards evil which issued sporadically in specific acts of defiance towards God. Traditionally these radical views distinguished between *vitium*, that is to say, concupiscence, or sexual passion; and *reatus*, that is to say, the legal responsibility which all men bear for the first sin, on the ground that all men were contained in Adam's semen at the time of the great apostasy.

<sup>15</sup> H. Edward Symonds, *The Council of Trent and the Anglican Formularies* (London, 1933), p. 12. See also Norman Powell Williams, *Ideas of the Fall and the Original Sin* (London, 1927), p. 409.

<sup>16</sup> *Unum Necessarium*, in *Works*, VII, 243.

The most that Taylor would admit is that man somehow is bequeathed an ancient, unpleasant heritage; but he denied that a man would be punished for any sins save his own. In a sermon preached in 1653, he seems to be thinking of Aquinas' distinction, "original sin is concupiscence materially, but the privation of original justice formally."<sup>17</sup> Said Taylor,

If we follow Christ, death is our friend: if we imitate the prevarication of Adam, then death becomes an evil; the condition of our nature becomes the punishment of our own sin, not of Adam's. For although his sin brought death in, yet it is only our sin that makes death to be evil. And I desire this to be observed, because it is of great use in vindicating the divine justice in the matter of this question. The material part of the evil came from our father upon us; but the formality of it, the sting and the curse, is only by ourselves.<sup>18</sup>

No one could deny, he thought, that there was a material inheritance from the first man; but the formality of Adam's sin could be transmitted only by imitation. Taylor confidently expected that even those who disagreed on dogmatic grounds would nevertheless be sympathetic, because his manifest effort was to speak more highly of God.

Yet he could not escape an uneasy feeling, perhaps expressed most happily by John Donne, that the human family was in a sense one; and consequently that man, who had sinned as man, would be punished collectively. In a sermon which represented his closest approach to Augustinian pessimism, he said that the "heart of man hath not strength enough to think one good thought of itself." There is, he conceded, "something within us, a strange sickness in the heart, a spiritual nauseating or loathing of Manna, something that hath no name."<sup>19</sup> But even this obscure *malaise de cœur* was not an inevitable illness. "In all the contingencies of chance and variety of action," he said in another sermon, "remember that thou art the maker of thy own fortune, and of thy own sin; charge not God with it either before or after."<sup>20</sup>

The issue which lies concealed in what seems like the endless trivialities of the Fall controversy is whether or not man in his present state is essentially good or evil, and consequently whether or not his rescue can be effected by human effort or only by divine grace. Taylor never doubted that there were limits to the process of perfectibility. A favorite image he used was that Adam had planted thorns in the hedges of paradise.<sup>21</sup> Death, which might have been a purely natural phenomenon, unattended by pain and terror, became for man a punishment. It was to restore in some measure this lost sense of the dignity of death that he wrote his devotional classic, *Holy*

<sup>17</sup> *Summa Theologica*, Q. 82, Art. 3.

<sup>18</sup> "The Entail of Curses Cut Off," *Works*, IV, 361.

<sup>19</sup> "The Deceitfulness of the Heart," *Works*, IV, 411.

<sup>20</sup> "The Flesh and the Spirit," *Works*, IV, 139.

<sup>21</sup> "The Faith and the Patience of Saints," *Works*, IV, 446. See also *Holy Dying*, in *Works*, III, 290. The image was no doubt suggested by the curse in Genesis 3:18: "Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth unto thee."



*Dying.* The worst consequence of the Fall, he thought, was the fact that man had been forced to remain in a state of nature, subject to its laws, and unable to reach the heavenly paradise by his own efforts. It is therefore correct to speak of him as a semi-Pelagian. He believed that natural law could do much, but he warned that "nature alone cannot bring us to God; without the regeneration of the Spirit, and the grace of God, we can never go to heaven."<sup>22</sup>

In this aspect of his thought, Taylor approached closer to the doctrine of total depravity than he seemed to realize. If man is not wholly vile after the Fall, the loss of the prospect of heavenly happiness is serious enough. But Taylor never went so far as Article IX of the Established Church, which asserted that "Man is of his own nature inclined to evil and incurs the wrath of God and damnation." And he was, of course, utterly in disagreement with the views expressed by the Westminster divines, who insisted that man of his own nature was inclined only to evil. Taylor could find no common ground with those who felt that the Fall had destroyed not only the adventitious wrappings, but also the innermost being of man. The corollaries of this argument angered Taylor more than any other doctrine; for if man is totally depraved since the Fall, and if the sacrament of baptism is the ceremony which removes this guilt, it follows that infants who die before baptism are eternally damned. Writing defiantly to the Bishop of Rochester, Taylor said,

And truly, my lord, to say that for Adam's sin it is just in God to condemn infants to the eternal flames of hell; and to say that concupiscence or natural inclinations before they pass into any act could bring eternal condemnation from God's presence into the eternal portion of devils, are two such horrid propositions, that if any church in the world would expressly affirm them, I for my part should think it unlawful to communicate with her in the defence or profession of either, and to think it would be the greatest temptation in the world to make men not to love God, of whom men so easily speak such horrid things.<sup>23</sup>

In the case of the death of unbaptized infants, it seemed especially clear that there had been no exercise of will, and therefore Taylor could think of no guilt which could rightfully be imputed. He was on this point, as in others, very close to the Pelagian argument that there could be no sin if the will were not essentially free, and if there were no conscious defiance of the will of God. He could make nothing of the Augustinian assertion that the human will is free in the sense that the individual is responsible for his sin, but not free in the sense that his sin is inevitable.

In his concern to justify God by denying the disastrous consequences of the Fall, Taylor sometimes seemed to say that on the whole the Fall was a fortunate event. Finding it difficult to conceive of a golden age of absolute happiness enjoyed by an idealized man and woman, a great many writers had preceded Taylor in his conclusion

<sup>22</sup> *Unum Necessarium*, in *Works*, VII, 17.

<sup>23</sup> *Works*, VII, 547.



that the knowledge of good and of evil is after all better than innocence.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Taylor believed that man had received far more from the second Adam than he had lost by the misdeed of the first Adam.<sup>25</sup> Had he lived a few years longer, he would have read with pleasure Milton's account of this curious mingling of loss and of gain, of fear and of hope, which followed the defiance of God:

Som natural tears they drop'd, but wip'd them soon;  
The World was all before them, where to choose  
Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide:  
They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow,  
Through *Eden* took thir solitarie way.

(*PL*, XII, 645-49)

### III

It is to be expected that during the Enlightenment, in the century following the publication of Taylor's thesis, little attention would be paid to the doctrine of original sin, even when it appeared in so reasonable a form as that given it by Jeremy Taylor. The element which would be found uncongenial is that while the natural ethics of the eighteenth century relies upon resources within man for the attainment of the good, Taylor's ethic is essentially an ethic of grace. It remained for some of the leaders of the Romantic movement in the nineteenth century to rediscover the vitality of some problems of character which agitated the seventeenth-century theorists. No doubt the most penetrating criticism of Taylor's doctrine of original sin was made by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who criticized him for presenting precisely the point of view which the rationalists of the eighteenth century would have found most convincing.<sup>26</sup> "I have selected the Aphorism [on original sin]," said Coleridge, "from the ablest . . . antagonist of this doctrine, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, and from the most eloquent work of this most eloquent of divines."<sup>27</sup> In an unpublished marginal note in a copy of *The Liberty of Prophesying* owned by the British Museum, Coleridge wrote the following: "Original Sin in the literal sense of the Article was held by both Papists & Protestants, (with exception of the Socinians) is the fundamental article of Xianity: & yet Taylor attacked & reprobated it. Why? because he thought it dishonored God. Why may not another man believe the same of the Incarnation?"<sup>28</sup>

In order to determine Coleridge's precise position in the controversy, it will be useful to compare comments made by Taylor, by

<sup>24</sup> See A. O. Lovejoy, "Milton and the Paradox of the Fortunate Fall," *ELH*, IV (1937), 161-79.

<sup>25</sup> *Unum Necessarium*, in *Works*, VII, 243, 279.

<sup>26</sup> In *Aids to Reflection*, in *Works*, ed. Henry Nelson Coleridge (New York, 1858), I, 261-91; and in *Literary Remains*, in *Works*, V, 195-218.

<sup>27</sup> *Aids to Reflection*, in *Works*, I, 267.

<sup>28</sup> The note is on the page of the Epistle Dedicatory. The book is bound with others under the title, Σύμζολον Θεολόγικον (London, 1674). See my article, "Editorial Revisions of Coleridge's Marginalia," *MLN*, LXVII (1952), 34-37.

Milton, and by Coleridge on a controversial passage, Romans 7:8: "Sin taking occasion by the law wrought in me all concupiscence." The problem at issue may be stated in general terms to be the relationship between the bias towards evil within man and specific configurations of law which imply the possibility at least of man's conformity. Milton's exegesis follows the familiar Pauline psychology: that original sin lies buried and unobserved in human flesh, and that the institution of the law causes this hidden evil to rise to the surface in the form of specific acts of crime. Michael says to Adam:

Doubt not but that sin  
Will reign among them, as of thee begot;  
And therefore was Law given them to evince  
Thir natural pravitie, by stirring up  
Sin against Law to fight. . . .

(PL, XII, 285-89)

Taylor's confidence in the adequacy of casuistical method would not permit him to admit that such structures of law as he planned to present in *Ductor Dubitantium* would have as their sole function the detection of a more profound evil. His interpretation of Romans 7:8 is that the punishment of some sins is not mentioned in the law, and therefore men treat them so lightly that they are likely to become habitual. He achieves this curious exegesis by translating ἀφορμὴν λαβούσα not as *finding a starting place*, the literal sense, but rather as *apprehending immunity*, a derived sense; and Suidas, Phavorinus, and Demosthenes are cited to support his translation. However, he limits ἀμαρτία to *desire*, rather than giving it its usual meaning of *sin*.<sup>29</sup> He is then in a position to reduce the Pauline statement to a moralist's warning against indulging desires until they become habitual.

In Coleridge's judgment, as in Milton's, the sin which took occasion by the law was original sin. He thought that Taylor's explanation of the passage was "ingenious," but that "surely, surely, it is not the right one. I find both the meaning and the truth of the Apostle's words in the vividness and consequently attractive and ad-(or in-)sorberent power given to an image or thought by the sense of its danger, by the consciousness of its being forbidden."<sup>30</sup> The comparison suggests the limitation which voluntaristic theories such as Taylor's have in dealing with the obscure bias towards evil which issues in specific acts. Such metaphysics makes nonsense of the transmitted evil in *Paradise Lost* and of the troubles which followed the shooting of the albatross in the *Ancient Mariner*.

<sup>29</sup> *Unum Necessarium*, in *Works*, VII, 213.

<sup>30</sup> *Literary Remains*, in *Works*, V, 201. Charles Lamb reminded Coleridge that he had once planned to write a long poem on the subject of original sin. *Letters of Charles Lamb*, ed. E. V. Lucas (New Haven, 1935), I, 95. For the Mariner's art as a symbol of the Fall, see Robert Penn Warren, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (New York, 1946), pp. 81-82.

Coleridge agreed with Taylor that Augustinian views of the Fall contain an implausible definition of free will. But he found the bishop's solution of the problem no more satisfying. "According to Taylor," he wrote, "there is no fall of man; but only an act and punishment of a man, which punishment consisted in his living in the kitchen garden, instead of the flower garden and orchard."<sup>81</sup> But Coleridge was very certain that there is no escaping the fact of original sin, whatever our explanation of the phenomenon. It is difficult to avoid following Coleridge's lead and reading autobiographical significance in his remark that Taylor could not understand the power of submerged evil because his disciplined life had obscured its power:

Probably from the holiness of his own life, Taylor has but just fluttered about a bad habit, not fully described it. He has omitted, or rather described contradictorily, the case of those with whom the objections to sin are all strengthened, the dismal consequences more glaring and always present to them as an avenging fury, the sin loathed, detested, hated; and yet, spite of all this, nay, the more for all this, perpetrated.<sup>82</sup>

Coleridge observed the vacillation in Taylor's thought from a Pelagian insistence that man is guilty only of deliberate sin, to the Augustinian insistence that we share in the guilt as well as in the punishment for Adam's sin. He offered a cynical explanation of Taylor's indecision. "The truth is," said Coleridge, "Taylor was a Pelagian, believed that without Christ thousands, Jews and heathens, lived wisely and holily, and went to heaven; but this he did not dare say out, probably not even to himself; and hence it is that he flounders backward and forward, now upping and now downing."<sup>83</sup>

The beginning of Taylor's confusion seemed to Coleridge to be his failure to distinguish between nature and spirit, and consequently his conception of the Garden of Eden as a particular place and the Fall as an historical event. Echoing the German idealists, Coleridge pointed out that, while deeds occupy space and are measured by time, pure action is a *noumenon*, to which the categories of time and space are not relevant. "The curse of Adam," he said, "is common to all men, because what Adam did, we all do."<sup>84</sup> Consequently, the Adamic guilt is a dialectic and not an historical necessity; and since the Fall has to do with the spirit, it can be expressed in terms of nature only by doing violence to logical categories:

The whole of Taylor's confusion [he writes] originated in this;—first, that he and his adversaries confounded original with hereditary sin; but chiefly that neither he nor his adversaries had considered that guilt must be a *noumenon*; but that our images, remembrances, and consciousnesses of our actions are *phae-*

<sup>81</sup> *Literary Remains*, in *Works*, V, 204.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214. See his letter to John Kenyon, written in 1814, in which he compares Taylor's position on original sin to "an old statue of Janus," with heads looking in opposite directions. *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge (Boston, 1895), II, 640.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

*nomena*. Now the *phaenomena* is in time, and an effect: but the *noumenon* is not in time any more than it is in space. The guilt has been before we are even conscious of the action; therefore an original sin (that is, a sin universal and essential to man as man, and yet guilt, and yet choice, and yet amenable to punishment), may be at once true and yet in direct contradiction to all our reasonings derived from *phaenomena*, that is, facts of time and space.<sup>88</sup>

The criticism could, of course, be directed against all commentators who did not follow the medieval allegorists' cue concerning the manner in which the Bible may be taken seriously but not literally.

In any case, Taylor must be freed from the charge that was flung at him: that he had introduced a novel opinion. Milton's interpretation of the Fall was certainly more familiar in the seventeenth century; but Taylor's interpretation was consistent with the first three centuries of exegesis before Augustine, as well as with distinguished later commentators. The language of the Thirty-nine Articles was in fact carefully guarded, for it was chosen by men who remembered the conflicting views of Origen, St. Gregory of Nyssa, Clement of Alexandria, and Erasmus. Taylor's statement of the case was in the tradition of Christian humanism, which sought to harmonize pessimistic biblical insights into man's fallen nature with a more just recognition of the possibilities of human betterment. That he did not completely succeed is perhaps more an indication of the difficulties of his task than it is of his limitations as a metaphysician.

Yet his critics were no doubt right in their belief that Taylor had oversimplified the moral problem, thinking that man is more free to choose than he actually is, and that the measure of guilt in specific situations is easily determined. Probably his critics, who gave a metaphysical explanation of evil, recognized more clearly than he that the motive of evil action is never completely deliberate. Yet theirs was an orthodoxy which soon began to seem obscurantist. The common sense which became the hallmark of the Enlightenment was anticipated when Taylor scornfully denied that men can be "devils in their mother's bellies."<sup>89</sup> Surely it is to his credit that he helped preserve secular insights into the natural dignity of man, a thesis constantly imperiled by the dark doctrines of the Reformers. Finally, his emphasis upon the possibility of free choice helped to mitigate whatever ethical quietism is involved in the conception of inevitable sin.

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<sup>88</sup> *Works*, V, 217. Coleridge's criticism of Taylor seems to borrow not a little from Kant's discussion of the "radical evil." See Kant's distinction between "origin in reason" and "origin in time" in *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone*, tr. T. M. Greene and H. H. Hudson (Chicago, 1934), pp. 34 ff. Coleridge's indebtedness to Kant in this matter was noticed by Tennant, *Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall*, p. 80.

<sup>89</sup> *Deus Justificatus*, in *Works*, VII, 511.

## JOHNSON AND LAUDER: A REEXAMINATION

By WARREN MILD

Although Samuel Johnson's contemporaries almost unanimously assured their world that Johnson could have had no knowledge of the hoax William Lauder played in tracing Milton's modern Latin sources, academicians have been glad to believe that Johnson was discredited by being associated at all with the fraud. They seem to feel that Johnson besmirched himself by writing a preface to a dishonest piece of scholarship, and that even if he did it innocently, it serves the great man right for having disliked Milton so intensely. Lauder's knavery can hardly be mitigated, but reexamination of the affair suggests, even though it does not prove, that Johnson was less involved in Lauder's fraud than has been believed.

The principal overt act in the fraud was the publication in 1749<sup>1</sup> of *An Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise Lost*, in which Lauder tried to show that Milton had not only borrowed heavily from some modern Latin poets like Grotius, Staphorstius, Taubmannus, and Masenius, but that he had actually translated directly certain rather happy passages. By interpolating into these poets lines from Hog's translation of *Paradise Lost*, published in 1690, Lauder was able to present some startling proof of his thesis. Naturally, these passages, translated back into English, bore a close resemblance to Milton's original lines. According to Boswell,<sup>2</sup> Johnson's part in Lauder's plot was the preparation of an unsigned preface and a postscript to the volume. The preface was a commendation of Milton as a poet and a discussion of his use of sources. The postscript recommended a subscription for Mrs. Elizabeth Foster, Milton's granddaughter, who was living in poverty and was to be aided presently by a benefit performance of *Comus*. When Dr. John Douglas exposed Lauder in his *Milton Vindicated from the Charge of Plagiarism* (November, 1750), he took special pains to exonerate "that elegant and nervous writer, whose judicious sentiments and inimitable style point out the author of Lauder's Preface and Postscript."<sup>3</sup> Lauder promptly admitted the charge, and his publishers, not caring to miss a business opportunity, sold his book "as a Master-piece of Fraud."<sup>4</sup> Johnson dictated a confession for Lauder but at the time did not issue a statement of his own.

The only recorded conversation with Johnson concerning Lauder seems to be the one with John Nichols in 1780,<sup>5</sup> when Nichols showed

<sup>1</sup> *Essay* dated 1750 but probably published earlier. See A. R. Millar, "William Lauder, The Literary Forger," *Blackwood's* (September, 1899), p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> *Life* (Oxford, 1946), I, 153 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> *London Gazetteer*, November 30, 1750.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur Murphy, "An Essay on the Life and Genius of Samuel Johnson, LL.D." [1792], *Johnsoniana*, ed. Robina Napier (London, 1884), p. 391.

Johnson a book, *Remarks on Johnson's Life of Milton*, in which the author, Francis Blackburne, charged that Dr. Johnson had had a large part in Lauder's project from the very beginning, "and bore his part in the controversy retailed in the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1747."<sup>6</sup> Blackburne even suggested that the article in the August issue, signed by Lauder, had been written by Johnson. Presenting Johnson as a schemer with a well-defined plan to reduce Milton's reputation, Blackburne suggested that Johnson had lain in wait until the public had forgotten his part in Lauder's fraud and then in January, 1758, had published a Poetical Scale in the *Literary Magazine*, in which Milton's position as a poet was belittled (p. 537). When this failed, Dr. Johnson is supposed to have waited and schemed even longer until "he fell upon an expedient which has sometimes succeeded in particular exigencies. In one word, he determined to write his [Milton's] Life" (p. 540). When Johnson read Blackburne's libelous passages, he immediately wrote in the margin of the book: "In the business of Lauder I was deceived, partly by thinking the man too frantick to be fraudulent. Of the poetical scale, quoted from the magazine, I am not the author. I fancy it was put in after I had quitted that work; for I not only did not write it, but I do not remember it."<sup>7</sup>

Since it is not our purpose to defend Lauder, it is not necessary to present all the details of his attempt against Milton, but to understand Johnson's relationship with Lauder, we need to examine the following additional considerations: (1) that Lauder, three years before publishing his book, had already presented the gist of his argument, and in doing so, had not tried to discredit Milton; (2) that the tone of the *Essay* was very different from the tone of the articles written in 1747; (3) that Johnson's preface was originally written for another scholarly work by Lauder, not for the *Essay*; (4) that Johnson *probably* did not see Lauder's *Essay* until the printer had already printed it. The full implication of these points requires further explanation.

Lauder's first publication of Milton's modern Latin sources, in which he pointed out the similarity between the opening lines of *Paradise Lost* and some lines by Jacob Masenius, appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1747. In the February, April, June, and August issues, Lauder continued his series, showing Hugo Grotius' *Adamus Exsul* as another one of Milton's sources. In his first article, Lauder explained that he was not intent upon discrediting Milton:

But here I beg leave to premise, in order to prevent mistakes and misconstructions, that by this *Essay on Milton's Imitation of the moderns*, I no way intend to derogate from the glory or merit of that noble poet, who certainly is intitled to the highest praise, for raising so beautiful a structure, even granting all the materials were borrowed; which is an assertion I will by no means take upon me absolutely to affirm. (p. 24)

<sup>6</sup> *Appendix to the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.* (London, 1780), II, 536.

<sup>7</sup> Murphy, *loc. cit.* See James Prior, *Life of Oliver Goldsmith, M.B.* (London, 1837), I, 232-36, for suggestion that the Poetical Scale is the work of Goldsmith.



It might be possible to read ignoble intentions into the words: "which is an assertion I will by no means take upon me absolutely to affirm," but in 1747 a scholarly man like Johnson, pleased to learn anything new about Milton, would find the statement sincere.

Correspondents of the *Gentleman's Magazine* began to defend Milton against the charge of plagiarism (p. 423), and in the index the editors listed the subject as "Milton charged with plaigiarism [*sic*]." Lauder himself never used the word *plagiarism* but always referred to Milton's *imitations*.<sup>8</sup> He presented passages from *Paradise Lost*<sup>9</sup> and from his interpolated Latin poets, but never suggested that there was anything dishonest about Milton's imitations. He slipped out of character just a little in June when he began an article: "Since the literati have been pleased to approve of my attempt, I send you in further prosecution of my charge against Milton a few more passages . . ." (p. 285). It took over six months for a reader to mention that this statement was inconsistent with Lauder's earlier assertion that he had no intention of derogating from Milton's reputation (p. 68). It is true that Lauder never defended himself against his critics by insisting that he had not accused Milton of plagiarism, but he himself, except for this single slip, never suggested in any way that he was trying to discredit Milton. It is important that this be noticed about the original series in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, because it shows that no one, not even Dr. Johnson, would have had to have a hatred for Milton in order to wish well to Lauder's argument.

On the other hand, though Lauder's original articles could have been mistaken for honest scholarly efforts, there is no attempt in the *Essay* to conceal his determination to defame Milton. In the *Essay* Lauder no longer pretends that Milton's supposed borrowings are mere imitations. He says that Milton has been *consulting and copying* Masenius (p. 37). "Milton seems rather to have literally translated, than barely alluded to [Grotius]" (p. 58). Lauder compares Dryden and Milton, asserting that Dryden, even though "never reputed a man of the strictest morals," gave credit when he borrowed from another poet, but that Milton, "notwithstanding his high pretension to truth and integrity, most industriously concealed his obligations" (p. 71). Milton is "the most unlicensed plagiary that ever wrote." His having disclaimed all manner of assistance in writing *Paradise Lost* "is highly ungenerous, nay, criminal to the last degree, and absolutely unworthy of any man of common probity and honour" (p. 163). Even Edward Phillips is given a part in Milton's plagiarism (p. 159), but Milton's daughters are exonerated because their father had purposely taught them to read Latin, not to understand it, so that

<sup>8</sup> See Miltonicus, "Milton cleared of imitating the Moderns," *GM*, XVII, 67-68. The writer objects to Lauder's use of *imitation* as being too mild a term for the assertions and chooses to substitute *borrow* or *translate*.

<sup>9</sup> Lauder even interpolated two spurious lines into *Paradise Lost*. *GM*, XVII, 84 n.

they would never know he was merely borrowing long passages of the poem he was writing. "Milton well knew the loquacious and incontinent spirit of the sex" (p. 161). Because we know that Lauder was a fraud, it is hard for us not to read malice into his original articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, but comparison with the *Essay* shows how gentle the articles really are.

In August, 1747, in the issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in which Lauder's final article appeared, there was printed an advertisement to publish by subscription Grotius' *Adamus Exsul*, edited by William Lauder (p. 404). The major portion of this advertisement is an unsigned discussion of Milton and his sources, written by Johnson, and is the preface which Lauder later used for his *Essay*. Saying nothing uncomplimentary to Milton, Johnson talks about the study of Milton's sources as if it could do only honor to the poet. Though this advertisement was used as an inappropriate preface to a work that tried to discredit Milton, it was written as an appropriate advertisement for the serious editing of one of Milton's possible sources.

We cannot know whether Johnson knew that Lauder was using this old advertisement—patched with a new concluding paragraph—as a preface for the *Essay*. The fact that for the occasion of publishing the *Essay* Johnson wrote a postscript urging the subscription for Mrs. Foster might indicate that Lauder's re-using the old advertisement was not done without Johnson's permission. On the other hand, though, Johnson would have written the postscript quickly and willingly for charity, and it need not indicate that he knew that his old preface on Milton's sources was about to become current again.

It is not of great importance, however, whether Johnson knew that his preface was being used, for it is unlikely that he had read the manuscript of Lauder's new book. In 1749 Johnson undoubtedly still remembered Lauder's arguments in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1747, and he may have assumed that the *Essay* was only a book-length version of the earlier articles. Since he would have had no reason to think that Lauder's intentions were not still as honorable as they had seemed to be in 1747, Johnson might well have agreed without further thought to let Lauder use the preface. If Johnson had read the *Essay*, he would have seen how inappropriate it was to include within the same book his preface and postscript, which were so generous to Milton. Sir John Hawkins' account of Lauder also indicates that Johnson may not have seen Lauder's book until after it was printed:

While the book was in the press, the proof sheets were submitted to the inspection of our Club, by a member of it who had an interest in its publication, and I could all along observe that Johnson seemed to approve, not only of the design, but of the argument, and seemed to exult in a persuasion, that the reputation of Milton was likely to suffer by this discovery. That he was not privy to the



imposter I am well persuaded, but that he wished well to the argument must be inferred from the preface, which indubitably was written by Johnson.<sup>10</sup>

Boswell tries to discredit Hawkins' remarks on this occasion and has much in his favor. Hawkins wrote from memory after an interval of thirty-seven years, during all of which time his thinking had been colored with the knowledge that Lauder had been a fraud. We might well wonder if Hawkins remembered anything at all about the affair, for his important statement that Johnson "wished well to the argument" is based, not on what Hawkins remembered but on what he inferred from the fact that Johnson had written a preface for Lauder. It does not argue for a malicious mind that Johnson did not demand immediate suppression of Lauder's *Essay*. After all, many people had thought in 1747 that Lauder's evidence showed Milton to be a plagiarist, and Johnson might well have thought that Lauder himself had come to such a conclusion and had come to it honestly.

It might be asked why a scholar like Johnson did not recognize that Lauder's sources were larded with lines from Hog's Latin translation of *Paradise Lost*. Some time before Douglas exposed Lauder, Richard Richardson, Milton's biographer, had also traced Lauder's sources back to Hog's translation and had tried to make his discovery known in several letters, which the *Gentleman's Magazine* did not print. After Douglas' exposé, Richardson complained that he had been cheated out of prior publication, and the editors of the magazine gave out the following statement, which perhaps explains why Johnson, as competent as he was, would not have seen through Lauder's method of deceit: "we could not admit a suspicion of so gross a forgery, and in copies which came through our hands, we concluded that the lines in question were in Masenius &c, and that Mr. Hog had thence copied them to save himself the unnecessary trouble of translating Milton."<sup>11</sup>

We may conclude that Johnson had much less to do with Lauder's impostures than has been commonly accepted at any time since Boswell surveyed the matter. Though duped by Lauder, Johnson's fall was not occasioned by a malicious attitude toward Milton personally but by an insufficient suspicion of the Rev. Mr. Lauder. To prove beyond a doubt that Johnson is without blame in casting his lot with Lauder would require some positive statement, perhaps from Johnson himself. But the interpretation made here of the evidence would tend to soften the general ill feeling toward Johnson regarding his opinion of Milton. Until this is done, Johnson's criticism of Milton can be neither understood nor appreciated.

#### *University of Redlands*

<sup>10</sup> Hawkins, *Life of Samuel Johnson* (London, 1787), pp. 275-76. Murphy, *loc. cit.*, p. 388, says that it was John Payne, Lauder's publisher, who brought the proof sheets to the Club.

<sup>11</sup> *GM*, XX (1750), 536. Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 66, suggests the same possibility and throws the burden of proof to Lauder.

## TROWBRIDGE AND BURROUGHS

By RUFUS A. COLEMAN

He was about my oldest and best-loved friend. Next to Walt Whitman, he had the deepest hold upon my affections of any American man of letters. I shall miss him all the rest of my days.<sup>1</sup>

Thus in 1916 did John Burroughs write to Mrs. Trowbridge on learning of the death of his lifelong friend. In view of this warm relationship, therefore, it is surprising that the Burroughs-Trowbridge correspondence is so limited.<sup>2</sup> In the Trowbridge collection (at present in the possession of Mrs. Albert P. Madeira, Trowbridge's granddaughter) are only nine letters from Burroughs. Conjectures as to the why and wherefore come readily to mind, the most reasonable one being that the two friends saw each other fairly frequently, and that in consequence there was little occasion for writing. Another plausible explanation is that Burroughs for many years went on frequent jaunts of various sorts and that traveling is not conducive to regular correspondence.

Whenever Burroughs came to Boston (his son Julian was a graduate of Harvard), he was likely to call on his old friend living only a few miles away. The Trowbridge notebooks record some of these visits. One occasion was Christmas, 1898. "Fine weather. At dinner we have . . . Mr. and Mrs. John Burroughs and their Julian. A very pleasant occasion for all. . . ." Another visit is described as follows:

This afternoon John Burroughs called with Julian, and we had a lively chat before the reception room fire. . . . He told me a striking story of a blind man who owns five hundred cows which he leases to people all over the country,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Clara Barrus, *Life and Letters of John Burroughs* (Boston and New York, 1925), II, 242. John Townsend Trowbridge (1827-1916) editor, novelist, poet, and writer of many juvenile narratives, led an unusually long and interesting life. He met personages as widely separated in time as Mordecai Noah and Booth Tarkington, including among his friends a host of well-known writers. He lived in Arlington, Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup> To my knowledge, the only Burroughs-Trowbridge correspondence in print is in Dr. Barrus' two books: her standard biography, *Life and Letters of John Burroughs* and her *Whitman and Burroughs Comrades* (Boston and New York, 1931). The second-mentioned book reprints two letters already published in the biography. There is little Trowbridge material in either book. To my letter of inquiry Julian Burroughs wrote in part: "I doubt if there are any letters of Mr. Trowbridge to father in existence now." Letter dated May 6, 1935. H. H. Haring, one of the literary executors of Dr. Barrus, wrote in part: "Although we know Mrs. Vom Baur [Trowbridge's daughter who died in 1944] rather intimately and although we have probably the best collection of John Burroughs' mementoes in the country, we never thought of a Burroughs-Trowbridge letter! We have not a scrap to offer you." Letter dated May 4, 1935. Professor C. J. Furness, another executor, referred me to Mrs. Adeline Barrus Johnson, a sister of the late Dr. Barrus. She wrote that originally the Barrus collection had contained something like twenty Trowbridge letters. I was able to secure eight of these.

who travels with a long staff and bent knees, collecting rents; he finds his way everywhere, and always recognizes his own cow in a herd, by the sense of touch, and by feeling her all over knows whether she has been well or ill-kept. . . .<sup>3</sup>

As is seen in the case of O'Connor,<sup>3a</sup> Whitman was the motivating force first uniting these two writers. Burroughs more than once made mention of this fact. Trowbridge continually reminded him of Whitman. There was a Whitman quality in the man's very look, not to mention his genial and tolerant disposition. Burroughs went so far as to declare that of all his literary friends, Whitman excepted, Trowbridge was the most cherished.<sup>4</sup> While not so outspoken, Trowbridge felt much the same way toward Burroughs. When confronted with a request for a sketch of himself, he immediately turned to Burroughs. In consequence, we have from Burroughs the best account in print of Trowbridge as a man and writer.<sup>5</sup> It was too much to expect this to please Trowbridge. Thoroughgoing criticism rarely satisfies those criticized. In answer to his friend's disapproval, Burroughs wrote: "I was sorry to hear that you did not like the piece, but I tried to treat you fairly and honestly and did not imagine you expected any unequalled eulogies after the manner of most of the sketches of authors. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

Trowbridge, however, soon became reconciled, for at least he could see in the appraisal sympathy as well as rigorous integrity. The exposition itself was a combination of literary biography and criticism. It placed Trowbridge "well to the front as a minor poet and novelist," asserting that he did not pretend to be a "sky-shaker." It considered his writings as being "too truthful" and to that degree lacking the light that never shone on sea or land. One of the most important points emphasized was in connection with *Neighbor Jackwood*<sup>7</sup> and "The Vagabonds."<sup>8</sup> One, Burroughs called "The pioneer of novels of real life in New England"; the other, "The first specimen of what was later known as the Bret Harte school of poetry." This last assertion is interesting in the light of the controversy over which was the originator of this colloquial type of backwoods verse: John Hay or Bret Harte. Hay's *Pike County Ballads* was published in 1871; Harte's poem, "Plain Language from Truthful James," first appearing in 1869, was later included in his collection, *East and West Poems* (1871). As

<sup>3</sup> Notebook item, dated January 6, 1901. Notebooks and personal letters are in the possession of Mrs. Albert P. Madeira. See *Life and Letters of John Burroughs*, I, 371, for Burroughs' memories of his Harvard visits.

<sup>3a</sup> For further data regarding the close relationship among Trowbridge, O'Connor, Burroughs, and Whitman, see the present writer's articles: "Trowbridge and O'Connor," *American Literature*, XXIII (1951), 323-31; and "Trowbridge and Whitman," *PMLA*, LXIII (1948), 262-73.

<sup>4</sup> *Life and Letters of John Burroughs*, II, 193, 242.

<sup>5</sup> *Scribner's Monthly Magazine*, IX (November, 1874), 32-36. Of course, I am not here considering Trowbridge's own autobiography, *My Own Story* (Boston and New York, 1903).

<sup>6</sup> Letter dated November 24—no year specified.

<sup>7</sup> Published first in 1856 by Phillips, Sampson and Company of Boston. There were several subsequent editions.

<sup>8</sup> Appeared first in the *Atlantic Monthly*, XI (March, 1863), 321-23.

might be expected, Burroughs had high praise for Trowbridge's nature poems, especially "The Pewee."<sup>9</sup> His juvenile stories were praised chiefly for their directness and their sanity. All of them, according to Burroughs, reflected clearly the author's dependence on his own boyhood experiences. All in all, the sketch is tempered and perspicacious, unusually so when one recalls that it is the work of an intimate friend.

Despite the comparative scantiness of the Burroughs-Trowbridge correspondence the seventeen available letters<sup>10</sup> are rich in detail, a few of them running consecutively in time. By observing chronological order, we are able to throw more light upon what was to both participants a very fruitful relationship.

The first two letters from Burroughs are comparatively early ones, pertaining as they do to an article by him after the manner of Whitman.<sup>11</sup> He wished his friend to help him secure a publisher. The third and fourth letters, likewise from Burroughs, relate more nearly to Whitman. Burroughs referred to his own position, a recent one, as "Receiver of a National Bank" at Middleton, New York. O'Connor and Whitman had quarreled, he informed Trowbridge, and Walt was in Camden with his brother George. He "should take down the blower

<sup>9</sup> Appeared first in the *Atlantic Monthly*, XII (October, 1863), 451-53. Burroughs especially liked the fourth stanza (see *Life and Letters of John Burroughs*, I, 81) of this poem which runs as follows:

Long-drawn and clear its closes were,—  
As if the hand of Music through  
The sombre robe of Silence drew  
A thread of golden gossamer:  
So sweet a flute the fairy blew.  
Like beggared princes of the wood,  
In silver rags the birches stood;

The hemlocks, lordly counsellors,  
Were dumb; the sturdy servitors,  
In beechen jackets patched and gray,  
Seemed waiting spellbound all the day  
That low entrancing note to hear,—  
"Pe-wee! pe-wee! peer!"

<sup>10</sup> The letters are grouped as follows chronologically:

- (1) B to T Treasury Department, March 5, 1868
- (2) *Ibid.* Washington, March 11, 1868
- (3) *Ibid.* Esopus, N.Y., April 15, 1873
- (4) *Ibid.* Middleton, N.Y., Dec. 25, 1873
- (5) T to B Arlington, Jan. 19, 1874
- (6) *Ibid.* Arlington, Jan. 25, 1874
- (7) *Ibid.* Arlington, Feb. 7, 1874
- (8) B to T Esopus, N.Y., Nov. 24, 1875
- (9) *Ibid.* Esopus, N.Y., Dec. 6, 1877
- (10) T to B Orange Park, Florida, Jan. 26, 1907
- (11) *Ibid.* Arlington, Nov. 9, 1910
- (12) B to T West Park, N.Y., Nov. 15, 1910
- (13) T to B Arlington, Nov. 23, 1910
- (14) *Ibid.* Arlington, September 7, 1913
- (15) *Ibid.* Rough draft—undated
- (16) B to T Experiment, Ga., Mch. 15, 1914
- (17) T to B Arlington, Jan. 27, 1915

Numbers 1, 2, 9, 11 are printed by Dr. Barrus.

<sup>11</sup> "Before Genius" (*Galaxy*, V [April, 1868], 421). Among the great men praised are Carlyle and Whitman. The following brief citation will give an idea of the trend of thought: "No great poet ever appeared except from a race of fighters, good eaters, good sleepers, good breeders. Literature dies with the decay of the unliterary elements. . . ."

of life and let the fire slumber."<sup>12</sup> The fourth letter continues news of Whitman. He had been cheated by his New York publishers. There was talk of financial aid from England. The first three letters from Trowbridge have to do with the biographical sketch that he had asked Burroughs to write and to which we have already referred. Trowbridge sent him material and suggestions. He urged Burroughs to read *A Chance for Himself*,<sup>13</sup> "particularly if only for an illustration of one phase of my humor in the character of Sellick." He went on to say that Burroughs might prefer other specimens of prose such as "Coupon Bonds"<sup>14</sup> or *Neighbor Jackwood*. It is from this letter that Burroughs based his remarks on Trowbridge's priority in the field of early realism. Trowbridge likewise mentioned the Civil War article entitled "We Are a Nation"<sup>15</sup> as something that had been considered "striking" at the time. In the next letter (No. 6) Trowbridge continued his suggestions for the coming biographical article. "I am gratified," he added, "by the spirit of honest criticism which your letter indicates; it is what I expected of you when I chose you my headsman." His attitude, as we have already seen, changed when the article was published in the fall of the same year. The last letter from Trowbridge in this year (1874) still referred to the coming biography. It ended with the news that Trowbridge had seen an "admirable wood engraving of Walt Whitman yesterday, made, I believe, for a new edition of his poems."

Burroughs' next letters expressed appreciation of a complimentary copy of Trowbridge's collection, *The Emigrant's Story and Other Poems*.<sup>16</sup> The ninth letter, likewise from Burroughs, was a similar expression of gratitude over a copy of *The Book of Gold and Other Poems*.<sup>17</sup> Among other compliments, Burroughs wrote, "Your book is certainly characteristic and savors of you in every line, and it is a good savor." An even thirty years intervened before the next letter from Trowbridge—an interim so long as to make it certain that many letters are not accounted for. Trowbridge was visiting his friends, the Van Burens at Orange Park. Burroughs had mentioned the desire to take a similar trip, and Trowbridge had asked the hotel proprietor for prices. Because of Burroughs' reputation, the manager was willing to reduce his regular weekly rate of \$17.00 to \$12.00, including accommodation for both him and his wife. Trowbridge's closing lines read:

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Barrus (*Whitman and Burroughs Comrades*, p. 97) quotes a portion of Trowbridge's reply to this third letter, which expresses regret at the quarrel and hopes "some mutual friends . . . might bring about a reconciliation." It is dated December 27, 1873.

<sup>13</sup> The second in the Jack Hazard series, published in 1872 by James R. Osgood and Company, Boston.

<sup>14</sup> Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866.

<sup>15</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XIV (December, 1864), 769-75.

<sup>16</sup> Boston: J. R. Osgood and Company, 1875.

<sup>17</sup> New York: Harper and Brothers, 1878.

The thermometer is at 70. While I am writing, the cattle are standing in the river shallows, as they do in July in the North; the honeysuckles are blossoming, hanging their clusters in the trees; a scarlet tanager flashes before my window, and the first sounds we heard this morning were the songs of the mocking birds. I hope to hear by return mail that you are already making preparations to come. It is good to be here.

The scheme evidently fell through. The first visit of the Burroughs' to Orange Park did not occur until the following year.

The following group of three letters (Nos. 11, 12, and 13) are unusually interesting, being consecutive. The Trowbridges had given up their customary trip abroad on account of a rumor of a cholera epidemic in Italy. For the first time "in five consecutive seasons," they were likely to remain in Arlington unless the Burroughs' joined them in some American jaunt. He closed his letter with commendation for Professor Dallas Sharp's<sup>18</sup> sketch on Burroughs in the November (1910) *Atlantic*, and with even warmer praise for Burroughs' own article on "The Animal Mind." A reply from Burroughs suggested a trip to California, or, if that did not suit, one to Georgia or Florida. Burroughs expected to be in Cambridge soon, to visit Professor Yerkes of Harvard, and would come out to Arlington. His reference to his own *Atlantic* paper is worth quoting:

What you said about my *Atlantic* paper was very pleasant to hear. I was sorry to have Sharp disparage Thoreau for my benefit. I may be more human than Thoreau, but he is certainly more divine. His blade has the better steel and will turn the edge of mine everytime and Sharp's also. How far off that age of Thoreau & Emerson begins to seem! and how much more to be desired than our noisy newspaper age!<sup>19</sup>

Trowbridge, in his answer written eight days later, wished to know in advance when to expect Burroughs. He referred to his Riviera trip "of last winter. . . . Now I find I am growing more and more reluctant to leave the comforts of home." He closed his letter with an almost passionate judgment on Tolstoy, who had not allowed his wife to see him (Tolstoy) on his death bed. Here it is in part:

In him were two powerful opposing natures,—an enormous sensuality that betrayed him into excesses and filled him with disgust and loathing, and a religious nature that later led him to the opposite extreme of a fanaticism that seemed almost insanity. What a man he might have been if he could have had the glory of harmonizing these two warring elements! As it was, what a failure instead!<sup>20</sup>

With the next letter (No. 14) from Trowbridge there is a three-year leap, an interval during which there may have been several unaccounted-for letters. Burroughs had sent his friend a second copy of *Birds and Poets*. (The first one had been lent to some unknown friend and not returned.) Trowbridge wrote of enjoying a recent visit from Henry Ford whom Burroughs had brought with him to

<sup>18</sup> "Fifty years of John Burroughs," *Atlantic Monthly*, CVI (1910), 631-41.

<sup>19</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, CVI (1910), 622-31.

<sup>20</sup> Notebook item dated September 2, 1931.



Arlington. This same occasion is likewise referred to in an interesting notebook entry. Burroughs had been visiting the Fords in Detroit and one day came to Arlington with Ford and his son Edsel. We are informed that "sometime since" Ford had given Burroughs a car which Burroughs had been driving "and meeting accidents in doing so."<sup>21</sup> The conversation ran on various subjects including "Emerson, Alcott, Walt Whitman, Windsor's birds."<sup>22</sup>

The fifteenth letter, in the nature of a rough draft, must have been written early in 1914, since it refers to a proposed trip to the South which Burroughs was to make that very year in company with Ford and Edison. The following letter from Burroughs fits in nicely with the preceding penciled draft, being Burroughs' account of the above-mentioned trip. He had been spending three weeks with Ford and Edison at Fort Myers, Florida. The following extract indicates his reactions:

We camped, fished, drove, walked, sailed, and loafed. Edison is a great man, a great philosopher, one of the most fertile and original minds I have met. Ford is a great machinist and a great hearted man. I came to like both more and more.

At this point an entry from the notebooks<sup>23</sup> helps us out, since it is Trowbridge's comment on this sixteenth letter.

Letter from John Burroughs at Experiment, Georgia enclosing snapshot of himself, and Ford and Edison, with whom he had had a most interesting outing in Florida. . . . In writing to him I must not forget to mention his account (p. 30, "Summit of the Years") of a woodchuck taking "refuge in an apple tree!" If anybody else had written it, I should have called it a gross blunder. I was brought up with woodchucks, chased them, watched them, trapped them, in my boyhood, and never in all my life saw one or heard of one climbing a tree! In my last letter to Julian, I enclosed a notice of John's mis-quotation from

<sup>21</sup> In his book, *My Life and Works* (New York, 1922), pp. 236-40, Henry Ford gives his version of the above-mentioned gift and its consequences. He comments upon Burroughs' earlier prejudice against modern industrialism, especially smoke and machinery. But after Ford had presented him with a car, Burroughs changed his attitude. There is an irritating complacency in the account, however interesting it is in spots.

As might be expected, Burroughs all his life enjoyed camping trips and outdoor adventure of all kinds, but during his later years he did so in the company of congenial associates. In the summer of 1918, with Ford, Edison, and Firestone, he made a jaunt of several weeks through the South. Traveling in a caravan of six automobiles, the group became interested in old water wheels, old engines, and old mechanisms of various sorts. Burroughs was the official chronicler of the expedition. He developed the bad habit of getting up early in the morning, the better, as he said, to indulge "in long, long thoughts" which belong to age more than to youth." See the short illustrated article in *Life*, Vol. 281, pp. 44-45 (January 2, 1950). For another recent appraisal of Burroughs, see also Edwin May Teale, "John Burroughs: Disciple of Nature," *Coronet*, Vol. 31 (March, 1952), pp. 90-94.

<sup>22</sup> Windsor Warren Trowbridge (1864-1884). The loss of this son, the only child of his first wife, was a severe blow to Trowbridge. See *My Own Story* for a picture and an account of his son. In the Arlington home (the property is now sold) was a cabinet of stuffed birds, the work of this young son who was an enthusiastic taxidermist.

<sup>23</sup> Notebook item, dated March 18, 1914.

Whitman's (regarding animals) on p. 34, same book (and same essay "Circuit of Summer Hills").<sup>24</sup>

With a reader like Trowbridge on the alert for discrepancies, Burroughs had better be certain of his facts. The closing letter of the group—one by Trowbridge—is full of war news. He introduces his own reactions by first referring to an article of Burroughs on the European situation which exactly portrays his own views on the subject. He is "deeply moved by the unparalleled atrocity of the war and the amazing misrepresentation invented to excuse it." He enclosed a copy of his own poem, "Belgium," which had been written for exercises in behalf of Belgian relief.

Perhaps the most interesting reference to Burroughs in the Trowbridge notebooks described his visit and that of his wife to the winter home of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Van Buren<sup>25</sup> at Orange Park, Florida, during March, 1908. At this time the Trowbridges were likewise honored guests. Indeed, it was the presence of Trowbridge which brought Burroughs. Almost immediately Burroughs became interested in the wild life of the vicinity, especially in a pair of shrikes building in an oak in the yard. He wished to discover whether or not the male helped the female. At the supper table during the second evening of their visit, Burroughs was persuaded to tell the company how he became interested in birds. He told of his early student days, how he was intrigued by the wonderful drawings of Audubon, how he began shooting birds and comparing them to the drawings for identification. His second *Atlantic* article had been on birds. One of the evenings was spent with the Watermans, who were also members of this delightful colony. Burroughs asked Trowbridge to repeat a dog story that he had told earlier in the afternoon. He wished to check the details, for the sagacity of the dog hero was almost unbelievable. The episode related to a dog who, when a stick was thrown into the sea from a high eminence, had leaped after it. On retrieving the stick, the unfortunate animal had a hard time finding a landing place, the shoreline being so precipitous he nearly drowned. After that the only place from which he would enter the water for any similar pur-

<sup>24</sup> Always comparing notes, these two were quick to catch any discrepancy in each other's work. In a letter (1879) to Joel Benton, the poet, Burroughs wrote: "I am now writing a piece about the natural history of the poets—picking flaws in the wood-lore of Emerson, Whittier, Bryant, Longfellow, Trowbridge, and others. I am in want of more victims." Quoted in *Life and Letters of John Burroughs*, I, 210.

<sup>25</sup> The Van Burens were wealthy people living at this time at Orange Park, Florida. Later they moved to Brookline, Massachusetts. Mrs. Van Buren, a lifelong invalid, was a talented poet and musician who belonged to the Authors' and Art Clubs of Boston. One of her best known poems was a one-stanza poem entitled "Today and Tomorrow."

Today we pray for death  
Tomorrow pray for life,  
And almost every breath  
Is drawn in strife.

If death came when we willed  
No grave would be unfilled;  
If life came when we prayed  
No grave be made.



poses was the identical spot from which he had been able to save himself in this first misadventure.<sup>26</sup>

On the last day of their visit (they stayed only eight days) Mr. and Mrs. Burroughs were taken during the morning for a launch ride to Mandarin, across the St. John's River. This is where for a time Mrs. Stowe had had her winter home. Trowbridge's own account of the episode throws light upon the extreme and at times disconcerting informality of Burroughs.

J. B. has been wearing an old soiled linen coat of Albert's too large for him, and having a burnt hole under one pocket. He even wore it to Waterman's tea last evening. At the Brown place he lay down in it, on the piazza, and tried to go to sleep. Picturesque enough, but hardly decent for going out to tea in. He would even have worn it to Hibernia, if Alicia hadn't made him put on his own coat. To his wife's wishes in such matters he seems to pay no attention.

That afternoon the Burroughs' were driven in the carriage to Jacksonville, where they boarded the train. Their brief stay had been a season of intensified pleasure.<sup>27</sup> In closing his account of it Trowbridge jotted down the following with what must have been a glow of pleasure:

The visit of J. B. has been a memorable event to Orange Park. Alicia says he spoke of me with great affection saying I reminded him of W. W. more than any other person he has ever known. Evening, Alicia tells me this over again as we sit on the piazza, watching the moonrise. . . .<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> The details of this story were related to the writer by Mrs. Vom Baur, Trowbridge's daughter, who died in April, 1944.

<sup>27</sup> The following excerpt from a local newspaper confirms this observation. Only the first paragraph is quoted. "Orange Park, March 21, a new boat house and hall belonging to Mr. Albert Van Buren was opened Tuesday and dedicated at an authors' reading. The occasion was a particularly happy one, as it gave Mr. and Mrs. Van Buren the opportunity of inviting many Orange Park friends to a reading of three well known poets who have been guests at their new home on the river this winter. Mr. John Townsend Trowbridge, Mr. John Burroughs, and Miss Abbie Farwell Brown were all in Orange Park at the Van Buren home, on the night of the dedication, and with Mr. Nixon Waterman, who resides at Orange Park, these delightful Writers gave an evening of exceptional pleasure to a numerous audience." *Times Union*.

<sup>28</sup> Notebook item dated March 19, 1908. In a letter written to a friend during this visit, Burroughs expressed himself as follows:

"Here we are in this paradise, lotus-eating with other lotus-eaters. It seems quite like midsummer, some days, a soft hazy tranquillity brooding over all the scene. We look out upon the St Johns, as we look out upon the Hudson at home, only this river is three miles wide and the bank is a level plain dotted with noble trees only fifteen or twenty feet above the water.

"We are guests of Mr. and Mrs. Van Buren of Louisville, Kentucky, and their hospitality is royal and genuine. Trowbridge and his wife are here, and eight or ten other guests—two literary young women from Boston, an artist from N. Y., two Kentucky girls and others. . . . We walk and drive amid these noble avenues of trees, or sit on the porches. Today we are going on the river in a launch.

"The birds are singing and nesting, the flower and fruit trees are blooming, and the strawberries ripening. It is all too good to be true. They want us to stay on until April, but we shall probably start back on the 20th.

"Trowbridge is a man I love very much, and we spend much time together. He often reminds me of Whitman, and then he is associated with Whitman in

In the foregoing discussion we have seen that the relationship between these loyal comrades consisted largely in Burroughs' capacity of critic and old-time friend. In the former position, he furnished the most extended and unbiased criticism of Trowbridge as literary craftsman that we have in print; in the latter position, he assumed greater importance as the years went by. From 1890 on the Trowbridge notebooks contain many more references to Burroughs than they do during the preceding twenty-five years. Burroughs was easily Trowbridge's most intimate friend among the better known literary figures of the early twentieth century. Their relationship seems to have been largely one of reminiscence, something entirely understandable when one recalls that, with the possible exception of William Sloane Kennedy, they were the last of Whitman's earliest associates. While an ardent disciple, Burroughs seems to have retained his sense of proportion more than men like Bucke or Traubel, but he was, nevertheless, more wholehearted in his allegiance to Walt than was his more tempered friend, Trowbridge. As Walt himself anticipated,<sup>29</sup> Trowbridge accepted him with reservations which were to persist to the end.

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my mind. Mrs. Van Buren is a poet of no mean order." Quoted in *Life and Letters of John Burroughs*, II, 111-12.

<sup>29</sup> See Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (Boston and New York, 1906-1914), III, 506.

# A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CRITICAL ARTHURIAN LITERATURE FOR THE YEAR 1952

Prepared by  
JOHN J. PARRY

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ADA</i>	Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
<i>Aevum</i>	Aevum. Rassegna di Scienze Storiche Linguistiche e Filologiche
<i>AHR</i>	American Historical Review
<i>Archiv</i>	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen
<i>BBCS</i>	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies
<i>BBSIA</i> (or <i>BB</i> )	Bulletin Bibliographique de la Société Internationale Arthurienne
<i>Beiträge</i>	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur
<i>Camb. J.</i>	Cambridge Journal
<i>Comp. Lit.</i>	Comparative Literature
<i>Cult. Neolat.</i>	Cultura Neolatina
<i>Deu. Viertel.</i>	Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte
<i>Diss. Abs.</i>	Dissertation Abstracts
<i>EHR</i>	English Historical Review
<i>Et. Angl.</i>	Etudes Anglaises
<i>Et. Celt.</i>	Etudes Celtiques
<i>Et. Germ.</i>	Etudes Germaniques
<i>Fr. St.</i>	French Studies
<i>Ger. Q.</i>	German Quarterly
<i>GRM</i>	Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift, Neue Folge
<i>JEGP</i>	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
<i>JRS</i>	Journal of Roman Studies
<i>Lit. Rom.</i>	Les Lettres Romanes
<i>LTLS</i>	(London) Times Literary Supplement
<i>Med. Æ.</i>	Medium Ævum
<i>Med. St.</i>	Mediaeval Studies
<i>MLN</i>	Modern Language Notes
<i>MLQ</i>	Modern Language Quarterly
<i>MLR</i>	Modern Language Review
<i>MP</i>	Modern Philology
<i>Neophil.</i>	Neophilologus
<i>Neuphil. Mit.</i>	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
<i>NLWJ</i>	National Library of Wales Journal
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
<i>RES</i>	Review of English Studies, New Series
<i>Rev. Belge</i>	Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire
<i>RF</i>	Romanische Forschungen

For the sake of completeness I have again taken from the bibliographies in *BBSIA* (with their *BB* numbers) a few recent items which I had overlooked. Since these bibliographies contain also some earlier items which are not in my lists, and since the fields covered are somewhat different, they should be consulted to supplement my lists.

<i>RFE</i>	Revista de Filología Española
<i>RHE</i>	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
<i>RLR</i>	Revue des Langues Romanes
<i>Rom.</i>	Romania
<i>Rom. Phil.</i>	Romance Philology
<i>RR</i>	Romanic Review
<i>St. Med.</i>	Studi Medievali
<i>St. Neophil.</i>	Studia Neophilologica
<i>TNTL</i>	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde
<i>WW</i>	Wirkendes Wort. Deutsches Sprachschaffen in Lehre und Leben
<i>YWES</i>	Year's Work in English Studies
<i>YWMLS</i>	Year's Work in Modern Language Studies
<i>ZDA</i>	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum
<i>ZDPb</i>	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
<i>ZRPb</i>	Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie

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## KITCHENER GERMAN: A PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN DIALECT

By HENRY KRATZ and HUMPHREY MILNES

### PART I: PHONOLOGY

A great part of Waterloo County, Ontario, centering around the twin cities of Kitchener and Waterloo, was first settled (beginning about 1800) by German-speaking immigrants from Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> In spite of a considerable influx, from the 1820's on, of German speakers direct from Germany, the dialect still spoken today in this area is very similar to Pennsylvania German (PaG). In August and September, 1950, the authors undertook a field trip to this area, and the following information is based on material collected at that time. We drew our informants from several communities of this locality: St. Jacobs, locally known as "Jacob-shteddel," a municipality of some 550 inhabitants about 8 miles north of Waterloo; Hawkesville (pop. 200), about 7 miles west of St. Jacobs; Wellesley (pop. 750), 15 miles west of Kitchener; and Maryhill (pop. 160), about 10 miles east of the twin cities.

With the exception of the Maryhill area we found the dialect quite homogeneous in the predominantly Mennonite communities investigated, and we will call this dialect Kitchener German (KG). However, we found some dialect division in Wellesley, along denominational lines. Amish Mennonites have been settled in this general vicinity since the earliest immigration of this sect, direct from Bavaria, in the 1820's. They have been augmented in the last one hundred or more years by newcomers from Bavaria, Pennsylvania, Alsace, Lorraine, and Hesse.<sup>2</sup> There is also a Lutheran community in Wellesley, mainly of Hessian and Palatinate rather than Pennsylvanian stock. In general the speech of the Wellesley Amish comes close to the standard KG, whereas the Lutheran dialect diverges sharply at certain points, as will be seen below. Maryhill was founded by Catholic Alsatians some 110 to 120 years ago, and the dialect spoken there is a mixture of Alsatian German and KG so different from the prevailing local dialect that it demands a special investigation, and is therefore not considered in the following. Our information is based on sixteen informants of both sexes and of widely divergent ages.

It had been our intention to correlate our work with that which has already been done on the PaG spoken in Pennsylvania proper, and thus to deduce which dialect is most closely related to the one we have studied and also to point out any new developments which this

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Breithaupt, "The Settlement of Waterloo County," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, XXII (Toronto, 1925), 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Bender, "The Amish Mennonites in Canada," *Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario*, by L. J. Burkholder (Markham, 1935), pp. 218 ff.

dialect may have undergone. Unfortunately, this was possible only to a limited extent, for as yet no all-embracing study of the dialects of Pennsylvania has appeared, and many areas have not been scientifically investigated at all. Also, the various individual investigations which have been carried out, many of which are quite competent research jobs, have used such diverse methods, terminology, and phonetic symbols that it is very difficult to compare results. Often, indeed, one work contradicts the other on points which only field trips into Pennsylvania can decide. We feel that the method used by Seifert and Reed in their investigations<sup>3</sup> was by far the most practicable one and in many respects secured the best results. For this reason we have thought it best to follow them as much as possible and thus try to avoid any more confusion in the field. We have therefore used their questionnaire,<sup>4</sup> with some deletions and some additions of our own which aimed at more copious information on morphology. We have noted all differences which have appeared between KG and the dialects which Reed and Seifert describe and thus make as complete a correlation as possible between them and our "colonial" dialect. We have also occasionally compared the results of other investigations. By and large, of course, the various dialects of PaG are quite similar, and points where all the dialects seem to agree we have not thought necessary to mention. We have in general used the same phonetic symbols which Seifert and Reed use in their articles and which are mostly self-explanatory. We have endeavored to give a complete picture of KG phonology and at the same time avoid lengthy discussions of details common to all PaG dialects. Only when sounds differ from those described by Reed and Seifert have we described them at length and given abundant examples, otherwise contenting ourselves with as few words as possible. For further information on the phonology the reader is hereby referred to Reed's work.<sup>5</sup>

Our phonetic symbols differ from Reed's in the following particulars, which are further elucidated in the text below:

- (1) Where Reed uses the phonemic symbol /a/ we use variously [a], [ae], and [ae:]. (See Nos. V-VII.)
- (2) Occasionally we use [ae:] where Reed has /e/. (See IV, 12.)
- (3) We use [ã:] where Reed uses /a:/. (See VIII.)
- (4) We use [ə] where Reed uses /e/. This we justify not only on the grounds that it is phonetically more accurate, but also because [e] sometimes occurs in final unaccented position, and it therefore

<sup>3</sup> Carroll E. Reed and Lester W. Seifert, *The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks* (dissertation, Brown University, 1941). Also other articles as mentioned below.

<sup>4</sup> See their article, "A Study of the Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks," *MLQ*, IX (1948), 448-66.

<sup>5</sup> See their dissertation and especially Reed's article, "A Survey of Pennsylvania German Phonology," *MLQ*, VIII (1947), 267-89, where the material is better organized. When in the following we cite "Reed" without further amplification, this article is meant.

cannot be said for our dialect that [ə] and [e] belong to the same phoneme. Also, we use [ə] where Reed uses (stressed) final [r]. (See XVIII.)

(5) Reed uses /x/ to indicate both the velar and the palatal fricative, while we use [x] for the former and [ç] for the latter. We feel that this is less confusing from the point of view of German dialect study as a whole, because of the dialects that exist which have the velar fricative in all positions.

(6) We then use the more conventional [ts] for the affricate which Reed indicates by [ç].

(7) Reed uses the Greek eta /ɤ/ to designate both the velar nasal and mere nasalization of vowels. This is possible in the dialect he describes inasmuch as the velar nasal appears only after short vowels, while only long vowels are nasalized. In KG this is not feasible, because in a few words nasalization of short [e] occurs. We therefore use the eta [ɤ] for the velar nasal, and indicate nasalization of vowels by a tilde [~] over the vowel.

(8) We use variously the symbols [ɣ] and [j] to designate respectively the velar and palatal fricatives, while Reed uses only /j/. This seemed necessary because in the Wellesley Lutheran area [w] takes the place of [ɣ], but not of [j].

(9) We have not thought it necessary to indicate accent, as in this respect KG is in complete accord with PaG.

#### VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

I. KG [i:] is derived from:

- (1) MHG i in open syllables: [bi:lə "to play", etc.
- (2) MHG i before final [ə] (MHG r): mi:ə "(to) me", di:ə "(to) you".
- (3) MHG ie: di:f "deep".
- (4) MHG üe: fi:s "feet". In umlauted plurals of nouns having in the singular a short vowel derived from MHG uo (such as KG dux "cloth", bux "book"), however, the vowel is short (e.g., di:cə "cloths", bi:cə "books"), although long in Berks and Lehigh counties (Reed, p. 268).
- (5) We have no examples of [i:] from MHG ü in open syllables. Reed (*loc. cit.*) cites three examples: i:wel "evil", di:r "door", and ci:g [tsi:g] "flue". The first word occurs in KG as [i:wəl], the second as [dæ:ə], while for the third the Eng. word is used.

II. KG [i], from:

- (1) MHG i in closed syllables: ki:f d "chest", etc.
- (2) MHG i in open syllables: wi:s "meadow", tswiwəl "onion", gəbliwə "remained (part.)", si:də "since". Reed (p. 282) cites in this connection only the words siwed "seventh", siwecix "seventy", siwe "seven", which he says are long in Lehigh and short in Berks County. These words, curiously, are pronounced with a long vowel in KG, except among the Wellesley Lutherans, where we heard siwə, etc.
- (3) MHG ü in closed syllables: fidi:g "piece", etc.

(4) MHG *ü* in open syllables: (n)iwā "over", kiwāl "pail", hiwāl "hill". Reed in this connection (p. 282) mentions only niwer "over", which he says is short in Berks County and long in Lehigh. In another connection, however, he cites hiwel (p. 275), which we then assume is the form in general use in both counties.

(5) MHG *iu* in *sifā* "drunkard".

(6) MHG *ie* in *licd* "light", *grigfd* "(you) get", *grigd* "got (part.)". Reed (p. 269) mentions only *lixd* "light".

(7) MHG *üe* in *misā* "to have to", *dicā* "cloths", *bicā* "books". (See I, 4, above.)

### III. KG [e:], from:

(1) MHG *ê*: *ſne*: "snow", etc.

(2) MHG *ae*: *me:jā* "to mow", etc.

(3) MHG *e* in open syllables: *gle:jā* "lain", etc. (See IV, 2, below.)

(4) MHG *ö* in open syllables: *he:f* "yards". (See IV, 4, below.)

(5) MHG *ei*: *gle:dā* "clothes", etc.

(6) MHG *oe*: *gre:sā* "bigger".

(7) MHG *ou*: *ebālbe:m* "apple trees".

(8) Analogical umlaut: *ſwe:jā* "brothers-in-law". *ſe:f* [*ſe:f*] "sheep", which Reed cites (p. 269), does not appear in KG. (The plural is *ſo:fā*.)

### IV. KG [e], a short mid-front vowel, slightly lowered before MHG *r*, from:

(1) MHG *e* in closed syllables: *fenfdā* "window", etc.

(2) MHG *e* in open syllables: *ſwefālholts* "match", *ewā* "boar", *fedādeg* "feather-bed", *aisāhefā* "iron-pots". (See III, 3, above.) Reed does not mention any instances of PaG [e] in open syllables, even when he compares some short vowels in Berks County with long ones in Lehigh (p. 282). However, we must assume they exist, for in other connections he occasionally gives examples of words such as the ones cited above, showing short vowels. For instance, on p. 275 he prints *ewer* "boar", on p. 278 *gewe* "give", p. 273 *bredix* "sermon".

(3) MHG *ö* in closed syllables: *kend* "(I) could", etc.

(4) MHG *ö* in open syllables: *efā* "stoves", *ewāfd* "highest". (See III, 4, above.) Reed has no such examples.

(5) MHG *ê* in *wenic* "little" (not in common use in KG, but recognized), *e'fd* "first". Reed (p. 269) finds the short vowel only in NW Lehigh.

(6) MHG *ei* in *tswed* "second", *ſu:lmefdā* "schoolmaster". Reed (p. 269) cites also *glener* "smaller", and *glenſd* "smallest" in this connection, but in KG these words have a long vowel.

(7) MHG *ae* in *negfd* "next", which Reed does not mention. The pronunciation of the vowel in /wer/ for MHG *waere* "were (subj.)", which Reed found in NW Lehigh (p. 269), is probably the same as that which we represent by the symbol [ae:]; therefore "were (subj.)" is [wae:ə] in KG. (See V, 1, below.)

(8) Analogical umlaut in *ne:jāl* "nails", *fe:jāl* "birds".

(9) Analogical umlaut of MHG *a* and *o* in the first element of the plural of a few compounds, the second element of which takes an

umlaut in the plural: *begefə* "bake-ovens" (alongside *bagefə*), *ebəlbe:m* "apple trees", *bleghaisə* "blockhouses". Reed mentions no similar cases.

(10) Raising and fronting of MHG *a* in *e'wəd* "work", *des* "the, that".

(11) Reed (p. 269) cites *šenšd* "most beautiful", but this word has a long vowel in KG. The only instance of [e] from MHG *oe* which we encountered was in the word *gresər* "bigger". This pronunciation, however, was found only among the Wellesley Lutheran group, the vowel being pronounced long elsewhere.

(12) The symbol /e/ in the word *der* "door", cited by Reed (p. 269), is meant to represent the sound which we symbolize by [ae:]. (See V, 3, below.)

V-VII. KG [ae:], [ae:], [a]. There seems to be a good deal of variation in the occurrence of these three sounds in the PaG dialects. Reed treats them as one phoneme, saying (p. 270), "PaG [a] is a short, low-central vowel. It varies in some words before [r], among different speakers, between low-central and lower mid-front positions; some speakers have a different phoneme in a few of these words." He also states (pp. 270, 280) that the pronunciation is low-back before [m], [ŋ], [n], [l], and velars.

The three sounds we have noted for Reed's phoneme occur in KG in accordance with a much more rigid pattern, and seldom alternate with one another, so that it seems advisable to use three symbols where Reed uses one.

V. KG [ae:] is a long, lower mid-front vowel, occurring only medially before a consonant which had been preceded by MHG *r*, and before [e] (from MHG *r*—see XVIII, 5), and is derived from:

(1) MHG *ae*: *wae:ə* "were (subj.)."

(2) MHG *i*: *gfae:ə* "dishes", *grumbae:ə* "potato", *fmae:ke:s* "cot-tage cheese" (*fmi:rke:s* among the Wellesley Lutherans).

(3) MHG *ü*: *dae:ə* "door".

(4) MHG *ie*: *fae:tsē* "fourteen", *fae:tsic* "forty".

VI. KG [ae] is a low-front vowel occurring in Eng. loan words in all positions, and in some words of German origin before [r] when followed by *svarabakhti* [ə], [i], or [j] (for the one exception we found, see item 3). It is derived from:

(1) MHG *e*: *ladwaeræg* (along with *ladwarig*) "apple-butter", *baeræg* "mountain", *baerjə* "mountains", *naerij* "crazy".

(2) MHG *i*: *naerjəds* (also *narjəds*, see VII, 3, below) "nowhere" (but *nae:ənds wo*: among the Wellesley Lutherans), *kaeric* "church".

(3) MHG *ä*: *mae* "mare", thus an exception to what seems to be the pattern, unless the word is derived from Eng. *mare*.

(4) Eng. [ae]: *məlaesic* "molasses", *aetik* "attic", *bael* "barrel". Possibly also from the same sound in an early dialect pronunciation of Eng. *squirrel* (KG *gfjwael*).

VII. KG [a] varies in pronunciation between a short low-central and a short low-back vowel (even in the same word in different utterances of the same speaker), thus sometimes being pronounced

like [o]. It is derived from:

- (1) MHG a in closed syllables: *faʃd* "works", *wasə* "water", etc.
- (2) MHG e in the variant *ladwarig* "apple-butter" (see VI, 1, above).
- (3) MHG i in the variant *narjəds* "nowhere" (see VI, 2, above).
- (4) MHG u in *daric* "through", *waʃd* "sausage", *kads* "short", *daʃdic* "thirsty".
- (5) MHG o before (MHG) r: *karəb* "basket", *marijə*, *marjə* "morning", *haricʃd* "(you) obey", *ʃanʃdə* "chimney", *dad* "there", *kan* "rye", *fad* "gone", *hane:səl* "hornet". (In the speech of the Wellesley Lutherans the pronunciation [o] remains before [r] plus consonant [retained—see XXIV], thus *jornʃdə*, *dord*, *korn*, etc.)
- (6) MHG ei in *tswantsic* "twenty".
- (7) PaG [a] from MHG ie, for which Reed (p. 270) cites *fäcē* "fourteen" and *facix* "forty", appears in KG as [ae:] in these words (see V above).

VIII. KG [ā:] is a long, lower mid-back rounded vowel. Reed (pp. 270-71) describes the sound as a long, low-back rounded vowel, saying that in Pa. it is "distinctly raised, and in some cases seems to belong to the [o:] phoneme." In KG the sound is never raised as high as [o:]. It is derived from:

- (1) MHG a in open syllables and in closed syllables before MHG rd, rt: *wā:γə* "wagon", *glā:s* "glass", *gā:rdə* "garden", *wā:rdə* "to wait".
- (2) MHG ou: *kā:fə* "to buy", *ā:g* "eye", etc. (Among the Wellesley Lutherans [au] is heard in some words, e.g., *kaufə* "to buy".)

IX. KG [o] is a short, mid-back rounded vowel, derived from:

- (1) MHG o in closed syllables (except before MHG r): *foʃl* "full", etc.
- (2) MHG o in open syllables: *ofə* "stove", *bodə* "floor", *drowə* "upstairs", *foγəl* "bird", *gfloyə* "flown". Reed lists in this connection only *fogel* (p. 271) and *ofe* (p. 282), variants from Berks County, while Lehigh has long vowels.
- (3) MHG ô in *hoxtsic* "wedding".
- (4) MHG â: *loʃd* "lets", *hoʃd* "(you) have", *hod* "has", *noxbə* "neighbor".

X. KG [o:] is derived from:

- (1) MHG ô: *ro:d* "red".
- (2) MHG o only in the word *ho:f* "yard", and in the variant pronunciations *o:fə* "stove" and *fo:γəl* "bird" for the more frequent *ofə*, *foγəl*. (See IX, 2, above.)
- (3) MHG â: *no:dəl* "needle", *ho:ə* "hair", *jo:ə* "year", etc.

XI. KG [u], derived from:

- (1) MHG u in closed syllables: *fruxd* "grain".
- (2) MHG u in open syllables: *budə* "butter", *tsugə* "sugar", *ʃdub* "room", and in the following two words where Standard German has [o]: *gnumə* "taken", *kumə* "come (part.)". Reed (p. 271) erroneously lists the last two as instances of [u] from MHG u in closed



syllables (MHG *genumen*, *kumen*). Reed (p. 282) cites only *šdub* "room" and *hunix* "honey", which appear in Berks County with a short vowel. The latter word is pronounced *ho:nic* in KG.

(3) MHG *uo: mus* "must", *mudə* "mother", *laindux* (alongside *laindu:x*) "bed-sheet", *bux* (alongside *bu:x*) "book".

(4) MHG *û* in *uf* "on".

(5) MHG *o* in *fun* "of, from, by", *drugə* "dry", *dunəfdag* "Thursday". (No instances mentioned by Reed.)

(6) MHG *ü* in *fuftsē* "fifteen", *fuftsic* "fifty". (No instances mentioned by Reed.)

XII. KG [u:] is derived from:

(1) MHG *uo: blu:m* "flower", etc.

(2) MHG *u* only in the variant pronunciation [dʊ:b for more usual *fdub*. (See XI, 2, above.) *su:ŋ* [sū:] "son" which Reed cites appears as *sō:*, *so:n* in KG, while *tsu:g* "flue" is not used.

(3) MHG *o* in *wu:nə* "to live" (alongside *wo:nə*, which is also the only form used in the Wellesley area).

(4) MHG *ā*, dialect *ô* in *wu:* "where", (but *wo:* among the Wellesley Lutherans).

(5) MHG *ô* in *bu:n* "bean".

(6) Standard Ger. [ʊ:] in *du:wag* "tobacco", from (older) *Tobak* (not mentioned by Reed).

XIII. KG [ai] is derived from:

(1) MHG *ī: paif* "pipe", etc.

(2) MHG *iu: laid* "people", etc.

XIV. KG [au] is derived from MHG *û: haus* "home", etc.

XV. KG [oi] appears but rarely, and is derived from:

(1) MHG *ou in hoi* "hay".

(2) MHG *î in roi* "row".

(3) MHG *ei* in *moi* "May", and *oi* "egg". The word *coier* [tsoiar] "hand of a clock", which Reed cites (p. 272) as being current in Lehigh County appears only in the form *tse:cə*, *tse:jə* in KG (as in Berks County).

(4) Among the Wellesley Lutherans [ai] appears in all four of the above-mentioned words, thus *hai*, *rai*, *mai*, *ai*. The general KG pronunciation seems humorous to these people.

XVI. Nasalization of vowels.

Nasalization of stressed and half-stressed vowels, after which MHG *n* has disappeared is usual in KG, but the amount of nasalization varies greatly among individuals, and is also stronger or weaker depending upon the degree of stress of the individual word at a given time. The following instances were noted:

(1) [ē:] from MHG *ein: glē:* "small", *ē:* "one", *bē:* "leg".

(2) [ē:] from MHG *ên: gē:* "to go", and *fdē:* "to stand".

(3) [ē:] from MHG *oen: fē:* "beautiful".

(4) [ē:] from MHG *en in tsē:* "teeth", *tsē:ə* "ten".

(5) [āi] from MHG *în: āiwaia* "to dedicate"; *dāi* "your", *sāi*



"his", *māi* "my", when heavily accented. (No instances mentioned by Reed, who spells these words *dai*, *mai*, etc.)

(6) [ā] from MHG *an*: *ā* "at", *āgetsoyā* "dressed (part.)".

(7) [ā:] from MHG *an*: *tsā*: "tooth".

(8) [ē] from MHG *en* in *draitsē* "thirteen", *fae:tsē* "fourteen", etc.

(9) [ō:] from MHG *un*: *sō*: "son" (Reed, p. 275, has *su:ŋ*).

(10) Nasalization is in general less pronounced among the Wellesley Lutherans, where also MHG *n* is retained in some words, thus [an] and [tse:n] for general KG *ā*, *tsē:ə*.

#### VOWELS OF UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES

XVII. KG [i] occurs in unstressed syllables as a high-front vowel, derived from:

(1) MHG *i* in the suffixes *-ic* (fde:nic "stony"), *-inc* (tsaidiŋ "newspaper"), *-isch* (naerif "crazy"), *-zic* (fae:tsic "forty", fuftsic "fifty"), and with loss of *t* from *-ig(e)t* in *bredic* "sermon".

(2) The connective vowel in *kobikisə* "pillow" (which sometimes occurs as *kobəkisə*).

(3) A svarabakhti vowel which developed between *r* or *l* and a following velar stop [g] or the fricatives [c] and [j] (although frequently missing before [j] plus vowel, for instance, *marjə* "morning", *baerjə* "mountains", no instances of this are noted by Reed): *fdarig* "strong", *aric*, *arig* "very", *marijə* "morning", *kaeric* "church", *milic* "milk", *haricfd* "(you) obey". Sometimes this [i] is, however, weakened to [ə] (see below, XVIII, 4), no instances of which are mentioned by Reed. This vowel frequently is missing among the Wellesley Lutherans; thus, *fdarg*, *horcfd*.

(4) MHG *ie*, *iu* in the fem. and pl. definite article when unstressed: *di* (alongside *də*).

(5) Eng. *-y* [i] suffix: *dadi* "daddy", *mami* "mommy", etc.

XVIII. KG [ə] is derived from:

(1) MHG unstressed *e*: *hunəd* "hundred", *gəbredigd* "preached", *fəkā:fə* "to sell", *tsə* "to" (from MHG unstressed *ze*).

(2) Other weakened, unstressed MHG vowels: the definite article when unstressed: *də* for Standard Ger. *der*, *den*, or *die* (along with *di* for the latter), *əm* for *dem*, *dəs*, *əs* (or 's) for *das*; in the indefinite article when unstressed: *ə*, *ən* for *ein*, *eine*, *əm* for *einem*; in the following personal pronouns when unstressed: *də* for *du*, *sə* (along with *si*) for *sie*, *ə* for *er*, *əs* for *es*, *mə* for *wir* and *man*; from MHG *ei* in *e'wəd* "work".

(3) Eng. [ə], as in *dʒæɡəd* "jacket".

(4) A svarabakhti vowel that developed regularly between *r* and a labial, and spasmodically (more often [i])—see XVII, 3, above) between *r* and a velar: *karəb* "basket", *baerəg* "mountain", *marəg* "market", *ladwaerəg* "apple-butter" (along with *ladwarig*). This vowel is frequently missing among the Wellesley Lutherans; thus, *korb*, *laedwaerg*.

(5) MHG *r* in final position after a (KG) long vowel or diphthong: *mi:ə* "me", *di:ə* "you", *dae:ə* "door".

(6) It should be noted that MHG final *e* disappears in KG, as does the *e* in the prefix *ge-* before a voiceless consonant, and frequently before a voiced one: *kic* "kitchen", *geŋ* "halls", *wae:ə* "(I) would be", *gfae:ə* "dishes", *gfloγə* "flown", *gle:jə* "lain", *ke:sə* "called (part.)".

XIX. The vowel of the diminutive suffix is clearly [e] in KG: *fdi:wəle* "little room", *koble* "little cup", etc.

#### SONORANTS

XX. KG [m] from MHG *m* occurs in all positions. MHG final, unstressed *m*, which appears in Berks and Lehigh counties in the words *bodem* "floor", and *be:sem* "broom" (Reed, p. 274), has disappeared in KG in accordance with the usage in Lebanon and Lancaster counties (Reed, p. 285). Among the Wellesley Lutherans [m] appears in *fimf* "five" (generally *finf* in KG).

XXI. KG [n] is derived from:

- (1) MHG *n*: *no:dəl* "needle", *gle:nə* "smaller", etc.
- (2) MHG *nd* or *nt* in intervocalic position by assimilation: *finə* "to find", *kinə* "children", *rinə* "heifers", *nunə* "down". In the words *sin* "are", *un* "and", the final consonant was probably assimilated because the words are so often used in unstressed position.
- (3) False word division in *na:fd* "branch", from MHG *ein ast*.
- (4) It should be noted that MHG final, unstressed *n* disappears in KG: *grumə* "taken", *fwetsə* "(they) talk", etc.

XXII. KG [ŋ] is a velar nasal, derived from:

- (1) MHG *n* before *k*, while MHG *k* is preserved as [g]: *faŋg* "closet", *driŋgə* "to drink", *deŋgə* "to think", etc.
- (2) MHG *ng*. In contrast to the dialects of Berks and Lehigh counties (Reed, p. 275), the MHG *g* (c) following [ŋ] has disappeared in all cases: *gaŋ* "hall" (not *gaŋg*), *juŋ* "young", *siŋə* "to sing", etc.

XXIII. KG [l] from MHG *l* occurs in all positions.

#### FRICATIVES

XXIV. KG [r] appears only before vowels and [j], and is a tongue-tip trilled dental fricative, derived from MHG prevocalic *r* and *r* before a consonant after which in KG a svarabakhti vowel has developed: *ro:d* "red", *fraiwə* "to write", *baerəg* "mountain", *karəb* "basket". The [r] has, however, disappeared in KG *faŋg* "closet" from MHG *schranc*.

In stressed syllables, MHG final *r*, or *r* which later became final, remains as [ə]: *dae:ə* "door", *mi:ə* "(to) me", etc. (See XVIII, 5.)

MHG final unstressed *r* completely disappears in KG: *kinə* "children", etc.

MHG preconsonantal *r* completely disappears: *wafd* "sausage", *fae:tsē* "fourteen", etc. After [e] it remains only as a slight coloration of the vowel, which is slightly lowered: *he:ts* "heart", etc. The word *lenə* "to learn", where there is no coloration at all, forms an exception.

In the Wellesley area, however, MHG *r* is clearly pronounced in all positions; thus we have *kinər*, *warfd*, *fae:rtsē*, *dae:r*, *mi:r*, *herts*, *lerna*, etc.

XXV. KG [j] is a voiced palatal fricative, occurring initially and medially, derived from:

- (1) MHG *j* from West Germanic *j*: *jo:ə* "year", etc.
- (2) MHG dialect *j* from West Germanic *γ*, appearing intervocalically after front vowels, and also when preceded by [r] and followed by a vowel: *fe:jəl* (*fe:gəl* in Pa.—Reed, p. 271); *gle:jə* "lain", *fwɪ:jə* "father-in-law", *marjə* "morning", *narjəds*, *naerjəds* "nowhere". Among the Wellesley Lutherans this [j] sometimes disappears; thus, *fwɪ:ər* "father-in-law", *nae:ənds wo:* "nowhere".

XXVI. KG [ɣ] is a voiced velar fricative, appearing intervocalically after back vowels, and is derived from MHG dialect [ɣ]: *wā:ɣə* "wagon", *foɣəl* "bird" (*fo:gəl* in Pa.—Reed, p. 271), *fwā:ɣə* "brother-in-law". Among the Wellesley Lutherans [w] is frequently heard; thus, *wā:wə*, *fowəl*, *fwā:wər*; likewise *gəlowə* "lain" (usually *gle:jə* in KG).

XXVII. KG [w] is a voiced bilabial fricative, appearing initially and medially before vowels. It is derived from:

- (1) MHG *w*: *wasə* "water", etc.
- (2) MHG dialect *w* (Standard MHG *b* between vowels): *si:wə* "seven".
- (3) In the Wellesley area from MHG dialect [ɣ]: *fowəl* "bird". (See XXVI above.)

XXVIII. KG [f] occurs in all positions, and is derived from MHG *f*, *v*: *finə* "to find", *fun* "of, from", etc.

XXIX. KG [s] is voiceless,<sup>6</sup> occurs in all positions, and is derived from:

- (1) MHG *s*: *sau* "pig", *be:sə* "broom", *nā:s* "nose", etc.
- (2) MHG *z*: *we:s* "(I) know", etc.

XXX. KG [ʃ] occurs in all positions and is derived from:

- (1) MHG *sch*: *fo:f* "sheep", *fle:f* "meat".
- (2) MHG *s* initially before all consonants: *ʃlo:fə* "to sleep", *ʃmae:ke:s* "cottage cheese" *ʃnaidə* "to cut", *ʃbel* "pin", *ʃwax* "weak", *ʃdro:s* "street"; before [u] in *ʃunfd* "otherwise" (*ʃunfd* among the Wellesley Lutherans); medially before [d] and [b], except in verbal forms when the stem of the verb ends in [s]: *waʃd* "sausage", *wefb* "wasp", but *loʃd* "lets", *esd* "(he) eats".

XXXI. KG [x] is a voiceless velar fricative, occurring medially and finally after back vowels, derived from MHG *ch*: *gnoxə* "bone", *ʃnubdux* "handkerchief".

<sup>6</sup> Many speakers tend to voice it before vowels. We heard [zau] "pig", for instance, along with [sau], and—especially frequently—[unzə] "our". This is probably due to the influence of Standard German.

XXXII. KG [c] is a voiceless palatal fricative, occurring medially and finally after front vowels, derived from MHG *ch*: *bica* "books", *licd* "light", *ic* "I", *tswantsic* "twenty", *e:cbâ:m* "oak tree".

XXXIII. KG [h] is derived from MHG *h*: *haus* "house", etc.

#### STOPS

XXXIV. KG [t] is a voiceless dental explosive, occurring only in English loan words: *ti:dʃd* "(he) teaches".

XXXV. KG [p] is a voiceless, bilabial aspirated explosive, derived from MHG dialect *p* (Standard Ger. *pf*) from West Germanic *p*. It occurs only initially in stressed syllables before vowels: *paif* "pipe", *pefâ* "pepper", *pund* "pound", *parâ* "minister".

XXXVI. KG [k] is a voiceless aspirated velar stop, occurring only initially before vowels. It is derived from:

(1) MHG *k*: *kads* "short".

(2) MHG *geh* before a vowel: *kolfâ* "helped (part.)", *kad* "had (part.)", *ke:sâ* "called (part.)". Among the Wellesley Lutherans, however, these words are pronounced *geholfâ*, *gehad*, *gehe:sâ*.

XXXVII-XXXIX. There seems to be some variation in the various PaG dialects in the pronunciation of the stops which developed from the following MHG stops:

(1) MHG *b*.

(2) MHG dialect *p* and *pp* (from WGerm. *p*).

(3) MHG *p* in loan words.

(4) MHG *d*.

(5) MHG *t*.

(6) MHG initial, preconsonantal *g*.

(7) MHG *k*, *c* when initial before consonants, when final (WGerm. *g*) and when doubled (*ck*).

Reed (pp. 277-78) makes no distinction between their appearances in different positions, calling them "weak voiceless stops" in all positions, and giving them the symbols /b/, /d/, and /g/.

In a popularly written article which treats PaG pronunciation as a whole, Buffington<sup>7</sup> describes these sounds, to which he assigns the same symbols, as follows:

*b*: At the beginning of words like English "b" in bite; ex.: *beise*, to bite. In the middle of words this sound becomes softer [!], almost like English "pp" in apple; ex.: *Lumbe* rag. At the end of words it is pronounced like English "p" in stop; ex.: *Kalb* calf. (p. 220)

*d*: At the beginning of words like English "d" in do. . . In the middle of words this sound becomes softer [!], almost like English "tt" in better. . . At the end of words it is pronounced like English "t" in fat. . . (p. 221)

*g*: At the beginning of words like English "g" in get. . . In the middle of words like the English "gg" in beggar. . . At the end of words it is pronounced like English "k" in bark. . . (p. 221)

<sup>7</sup> "Linguistic Variants in the Pennsylvania German Dialect," by Albert F. Buffington, in *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, XIII (1948), 217-52.

However, in another article<sup>8</sup> he says: "Except for a few P.G. words of non-German origin and a comparatively small number of other uncommon words, P.G. speakers make no distinction in pronunciation between 'd' or 't'. In the initial or medial position P.G. speakers have only one phoneme of intermediate acoustic quality, in the sphere of NHG 'd' and 't', and the sound which one hears may be described as an unaspirated voiceless dental stop." There is no mention made here of final d, nor of b, p, g, and k.

Frey<sup>9</sup> says:

The symbols b, d, g, have been described for PaG as being essentially voiceless lenes. This is evidently true for initial and medial position. Other factors, however, must be considered. Since the speakers concerned with in this study are bilingual and since there is a breaking down of the barriers between Eng. and PaG in this particular region, there is bound to be less distinction between the consonant systems of the two languages. . . . For instance, if an informant is asked to say English "base" he will give it essentially the same pronunciation as any American not knowing PaG. . . . At first it [initial sound] appears to be a voiced stop. In pronouncing the dialect word *bēs* no essential difference is detected from the pronunciation of English base. On the other hand, pure dialect words do not have a voiced stop b, but rather a voiceless lenis. For this reason b, d, g in PaG have been designated as being unaspirated voiceless lenes.

In final position the problem of representing the stops is more complicated. When words stand isolated or at the end of a phrase, the final stops -b, -d, -g sound to the ear of the outsider like -p, -t, -k. Final -b, -d, -g do, in fact, possess the p, t, k quality when the word is not in medial position in the sentence; sometimes when stressed there is a stronger aspiration so that final b, d, g may become p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>. The amount of change here depends upon the position of the word, and upon the amount of expiratory accent the word takes. In medial position in word groups and in all sandhi situations these stops are definitely voiceless lenes -b, -d, -g. . . . Note: To the untrained ear the unaspirated voiceless stops sound like corresponding homorganic voiced stops.

The gist of these paragraphs seems to be that the author's well-trained ear could tell that initially and medially the stops were either voiced or unaspirated voiceless lenes, that finally they were voiceless stops, and either aspirated or unaspirated, but never could quite tell when they were which.

Shoemaker<sup>10</sup> describes the same stops in the PaG dialect of the Amish settlement near Arthur, Illinois, as being initially and medially unaspirated voiceless lenes, and finally aspirated voiceless fortes, which seems to be the condition in a PaG community in Iowa, as described by Bender,<sup>11</sup> as well as can be determined from the spelling she uses in her listing of words (there is no explanation of the symbols).

<sup>8</sup> "Pennsylvania German: Its Relation to Other Dialects," in *American Speech*, XIV (1939), 276-86. The quotation is from p. 280.

<sup>9</sup> J. W. Frey, *The German Dialect of Eastern York County, Pa.* (dissertation, University of Illinois, 1941), pp. 15 ff.

<sup>10</sup> A. L. Shoemaker, *Studies on the Pennsylvania German Dialect of the Amish Community in Arthur, Illinois* (dissertation, University of Illinois, 1940), pp. 20-25.

<sup>11</sup> R. Bender, *A Study of the Pennsylvania Dialect as Spoken in Johnson County* (M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1929).

In KG the influence of English and possibly Standard German seems to have had a far greater effect than on the other dialects of PaG. At any rate, the stops mentioned above appear as follows: the labial and dental are voiced initially and medially, and voiceless lenes, varying in intensity, when preconsonantal, final, and when they follow [ʃ]. The velar is voiced initially before vowels and voiced consonants, and a voiceless lenis, varying in intensity, initially before voiceless consonants, medially and finally. For reasons of practicality, we use the symbols [b], [d], [g], to indicate both the voiced stops and the voiceless lenes. In the Wellesley area, however, there is a strong tendency to aspirate the unvoiced stops.

XXXVII. A. KG [b] is a voiced bilabial stop, occurring only initially and intervocally. It is derived from:

- (1) MHG initial b: bro:d "bread", etc.
- (2) MHG dialect p (WGerm. p) initially preceding a consonant: blu:g "plow", blantsə "to plant", blaum "plum".
- (3) MHG dialect b in loan words: blats "place", debic "blanket", butsə "to clean", bro:wi:rə "to try", babi:ə "paper", bredijə "preacher".
- (4) MHG dialect medial pp: abəl "apple", gibəl "tree-top".
- (5) MHG pp in subə "soup".
- (6) By assimilation, MHG tw in ebəs "something", ebə "someone".

XXXVII. B. KG [b] is a voiceless bilabial lenis stop, varying in intensity, and occurring finally and medially before consonants and after [ʃ]. It is derived from:

- (1) MHG b (p when final in Standard MHG): kalb "calf", gebd "gives", blaibd "remains", ʃdub "room".
- (2) MHG p after s: ʃbel "pin", ʃbi:ld "plays".
- (3) MHG dialect pp in final position or medially before a consonant: kob "head", koble "little cup".
- (4) MHG w in final position: le:b "lion".

XXXVIII. A. KG [d] is a voiced dental stop, occurring initially and intervocally. It is derived from:

- (1) MHG d: du: "you", etc.
- (2) MHG t, dialect d: dae:ə "door", drugə "dry", budə "butter", etc.

XXXVIII. B. KG [d] is a voiceless dental lenis stop, varying in intensity, which occurs finally and medially before consonants. It is derived from:

- (1) MHG d: mi:d "tired".
- (2) MHG t, dialect d: ʃdub "room", ro:d "red", gebd "gives", līd "light", etc.

XXXIX. A. KG [g] is a voiced stop, velar or palatal according to its surroundings. It occurs only initially before vowels and voiced consonants, and is derived from:

- (1) MHG initial g: gē: "to go", etc.
- (2) MHG k initially before consonants: glē: "small", gnowlic "garlic", grimle "crumbs".

XXXIX. B. KG [g] is a voiceless lenis stop, varying in intensity,



and velar or palatal according to its surroundings. It occurs medially, finally, and initially before voiceless consonants, and is derived from:

(1) MHG *g* (*c*, *k* when final in Standard MHG) in final or preconsonantal position: *sagd* "says", *dā:g* "day", *we:g* "way", etc.

(2) MHG *g* before *e* when the latter disappears in KG: *gfae:ə* "dishes".

(3) MHG *k* (except initially before a consonant), *ck*: *faŋg* "closet", *maræg* "market", *foġəl* "cradle", *ʃdig* "piece".

#### ASSIBILATES

XL. KG [ts] is derived from MHG *z*, *tz*: *tswe*: "two", *tsā*: "tooth", *we:tsə* "wheat".

XLI. KG [dʃ] is derived from:

(1) MHG *tsch*: *gaundʃ* "swing".

(2) Eng. [tʃ]: *bandʃ* "bunch", *maedʃ* "match".

(3) Eng. [dʒ]: *dʃaegəd* "jacket".

#### ASSIMILATIONS

XLII.

(1) MHG *m(e)d* to [m]: *hem* "shirt", *hemə* "shirts".

(2) MHG medial *nd* to [n]: see XXI, 2.

(3) MHG final *nd*, *nt* to [d]: *si:wəd* "seventh", *fuftsəd* "fifteenth".

(4) MHG *nds* to [ts]: *o:wəts* "evenings".

(5) MHG *n(e)s* to [ts]: *marjəts* "mornings".

(6) MHG *g* is always assimilated to the preceding nasal velar in KG (see XXII, 2). Reed (p. 279) gives as exceptions *gāŋg* "hall", and *giŋgde* "(I) would go", variants of *gaŋ*, *giŋde*. The first of these always occurs as *gaŋ* in KG, while the second is never used (see Morphology, 4).

(7) MHG *ld* to [l]: *bal* "soon", *al* wail "always".

(8) MHG *rd* to [r] in *worə*, *werə* "become (part. and inf.)".

(9) MHG *tb* to [bb] in *ebbae:ə* "strawberry".

(10) MHG *tw* to [b] in *ebə* "someone", *ebəs* "something".

(11) MHG *lz* to [ls] in *Belsnigəl* "Santa Claus". This assimilation does not take place in KG in the words *salts* "salt" and *fmalts* "lard", although according to Reed (p. 280) it does take place in Pa.

(12) MHG *nz* to [ns]: *gans* "whole".

(13) MHG *l* is assimilated to a following dental in *sedʃd* "(you) should" (Standard Ger. *sollst*), *wed* "(I) wanted" (Standard Ger. *wollte*), and to [s] in *as* "as".

(14) The following assimilations which Reed further mentions (p. 279 f.) do not occur in KG: *buŋerd* and *bumerd* "orchard" (KG *bā:mgā:rdə*); the words *kins-kind* "grandchild", and *rins-fle:š* "beef", which Reed (p. 280) uses as examples of the assimilation of *ndes* to [ns], do not occur in KG, where the Eng. words are used.

XLIII. Summary of (stressed) vowels before MHG *r*:

(1) MHG short *e* before (MHG) preconsonantal *r* is slightly lowered in KG: *he:ts* "heart".



(2) All other MHG front vowels or diphthongs before (MHG) preconsanantal (except before j) or final r are lowered to [æ]: see V.

(3) All MHG short front vowels before intervocalic [r] or [r] before [j] appear as [æ] in KG (see VI), although some words have the variant pronunciation [a] (see VII).

(4) All MHG short back vowels before MHG r appear in KG as [a] (see VII).

#### XLIV. Phonology of English Loan Words

The assertion frequently made about PaG<sup>12</sup> to the effect that English loan words are adapted to the "phonemic pattern" of PaG is not strictly correct for KG. The situation is somewhat complicated, but it seems that the sounds of words adopted in the early days of the dialect were thus adapted, and tend to retain that pronunciation today, especially if their form was changed considerably from the English, or if the word (or older pronunciation) is no longer in use in English. To the first category belong such words as re:jəlwe:g "railroad" (Wellesley ri:gəlwe:g), gʃwael "squirrel", mōlaesic "molasses"; to the latter pigdə "picture".

On the other hand, modern loan words from Eng. tend to have the correct Eng. pronunciation, as do words which were perhaps borrowed earlier, but which are still in current use in Eng., so that the speakers are aware of their Eng. origin. For instance, we note that the Eng. word *pie* occurs always as [pai], not [boi] (see Reed, p. 289), in KG.

Most of the older people speak Eng. with a slight accent, which appears chiefly in the pronunciation of final [z] (unvoiced), [w] (bilabial fricative), and [tʃ] and [dʒ] (both pronounced generally [dʃ]). Of course, these sounds appear that way when such words are used in KG. Younger speakers, on the other hand, frequently have no trouble with these English sounds, and likewise carry the correct Eng. pronunciation over into the corresponding Eng. words when such words are used in KG. However, there is a good deal of variation.

The sounds [t], final [p] and [k], which do not appear in KG in words of German origin, are present in a number of loan words: *sin*k, *taep*, *kwilt*, *traip*, *leik*, *kredit*, etc. On the other hand, however, there is a strong tendency to pronounce Eng. final voiced and voiceless stops as voiceless unaspirated lenes: *ʃed* "shed", *wā:ʃə*ʃob "place to store farm equipment".

In many words the pronunciation varies, even in different utterances of the same speaker. Thus we find *krik* along with *grig* for "creek", *grob* along with *krop* for "crop".

On the whole, Eng. vowel sounds tend to be kept. Thus [æ], which in words of German origin occurs only before [r], appears in all positions in Eng. loan words: *paentri* "pantry", *maedʃ* "match", *kaerət* "carrot", *gemaefd* "mashed", etc. Eng. [ʌ] is frequently heard, but as often is replaced by [o]: *bagi*: and *bogi*: "buggy".

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<sup>12</sup> References pp. 21-22 in Otto Springer, "The Study of the Pennsylvania German Dialect," *JEGP*, XLII (1943), 1-39.

## ANDRE MALRAUX: THE LEGEND AND THE MAN

By HAAKON M. CHEVALIER

Professor W. M. Frohock's *André Malraux and the Tragic Imagination*<sup>1</sup> is, as the publisher's release announces, the first full-length study of Malraux in the English language. The author, in his introduction, offers a number of reasons for judging the moment favorable for undertaking a measured estimate of this writer. It is ten years since Malraux has written a novel. The events of history have created a break in his life, as in the lives of so many of his generation. And Professor Frohock is very possibly right in supposing that any novel Malraux writes after this long silence "may properly be thought to be part of a second cycle of activity." But, quite aside from this, Malraux's achievement and his importance as a figure are already sufficient to warrant a full and probing treatment.

Readers of Malraux will welcome this intelligent and conscientious study, which brings together a great deal of informative material not easily available and offers an interpretation of the writer's personality and his work which throws light on their inner consistency. The dissections and detailed analysis of each of the novels are judicious and penetrating, and should prove extremely helpful to students of Malraux's work.

Any present estimate of this "enigmatic" and "controversial" figure (to quote the release again) can of course hardly hope to be definitive. But Professor Frohock has approached his subject with enough objectivity and insight to preserve him from the major errors of judgment which are a frequent fault of such "interim reports." Yet this remains very much one man's report of an admittedly baffling subject. The report is linked, moreover, to a thesis which, for all its ingenuity, limits the validity of the picture as a whole and tends partly to cancel out the effect of the many sharp individual operations of the critical judgment.

The title leads the reader to expect a somewhat different book from the one he is actually offered. The present reviewer understands that Professor Frohock had originally intended to feature the word "Witness" in his title—which would have suggested more closely what he has set out to do. The phrase "tragic imagination" is in fact never used in the text, is never defined, and is dealt with only by implication. There is no thorough discussion of the quality of Malraux's imagination and, as we shall see, the author presents no clear view of tragedy either as a literary or as a philosophic concept.

The key to the author's approach to his subject is given in the first sentence of his first chapter: "Probably nothing about Malraux is so

<sup>1</sup> Stanford University Press, 1952. Pp. xvi + 175.

important as the legend that has grown up, more or less spontaneously, about him." This first chapter, entitled "The Legend of a Life of Action," is devoted entirely to the "legend." In it the author first presents as legend a combination of fact and legend, then proceeds to disentangle certain facts from the legend—in the course of which he makes a very effective case for his contention that Malraux was not present in Canton to witness the events described in *The Conquerors*, and a less conclusive but still convincing case regarding his relation to the events recorded in *Man's Fate*.

From consideration of the "legend," Professor Frohock proceeds to an analysis of Malraux's successive writings, and traces the growth of the fundamental ideas and themes in his work. He then comes back to the legend. Certain of Malraux's characters, he finds, bear a remarkable resemblance to the personality which legend attributes to Malraux himself. And the fundamental characteristic of his writing he finds to be "the habit of juxtaposing with an account of one man's defeat an image somehow suggestive of man's victory"—in which Professor Frohock sees a refusal to "accept the natural order of reality." And Professor Frohock, taking a hint from a passage in *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg* in which a character refers to the hero, Vincent Berger, as a shaman, identifies Malraux himself with this kind of special personality which figures in primitive societies and has been studied by anthropologists: he is a man who, in the pattern of the primitive miracle man, has passed through the stages of Withdrawal, Enlightenment, and Return, who underwent a special ordeal in Asia, in his early twenties, "possibly the ordeal by anguish through humiliation," and then returned, speaking "as if he possessed special enlightenment."

The analogy is certainly apt—and Malraux himself found it "assez astucieux." But it must not be made to bear too much weight.

Professor Frohock gives so much importance to the "legend" of Malraux that it is regrettable that he did not adopt a more critical method in presenting it. The presentation is extremely confused—more so than the legend itself—and the critic's point of view keeps shifting, so that the reader is left very much up in the air as to facts which are far from unverifiable. The very meaning of the word "legend," never defined, becomes hopelessly clouded when it is used to cover both "verifiable fact and unverifiable gossip." Professor Frohock says that "Malraux could have stopped it dead with one word." This is surely a misunderstanding of the very nature of legend.

Legend, for our purposes, may be defined as the aura of surmise which surrounds any public figure, filling the gaps between known facts. A legend of some kind attaches even to fairly conventional figures, but when the figure is one of exceptional personality and talent and activity, legend is bound to flourish. The individual is powerless to stop it, though he can certainly stimulate it and give it direction.

A man's legend, moreover, is never single, but at least double: there

is a friendly and a hostile legend. There is the legend which is essentially consistent with the man's true character and acts, which may embroider and exaggerate these; and there is the legend which more or less systematically distorts his character and acts. An additional factor which may be involved in legend is that the subject himself may more or less deliberately contribute to creating a public image which substantially differs from himself. (In this connection one may recall the case of Chateaubriand who in his account of his North American travels, writing in the first person, described places he had never seen as though he had actually been there.)

When, therefore, Professor Frohock states at the beginning of his first chapter, "Such a man quite naturally creates his own legend anyhow," and at the end of the chapter, "The legend has become a part of the public personality of a man active in public life," and in between, that Malraux "could at one time have stopped it dead with one word of denial," it is not at all clear what he means. Why should something that the subject could have stopped dead with one word be so important as to form the very key to Professor Frohock's study, and why should he, at the end of his study, leave the reader with the impression that the legend is in fact the man?

The title of Professor Frohock's first chapter, "The Legend of a Life of Action," and much of what it contains carry an implication that the element of "action" in Malraux's life has been far less important than the "legend" suggests. The author is especially concerned with Malraux's role in the Chinese Revolution and has gone to considerable pains to prove that Malraux could not have been present on the scene or have participated in the events related in *The Conquerors* and in *Man's Fate*. Beyond this, Professor Frohock dwells not at all on any real or alleged discrepancy between the legend and the known facts. But the burden of his insistence on the legend *qua* legend seems to be that it varies to a critical degree from the life which has given it birth.

The author's intentions here, as throughout, are entirely to his subject's credit. He is taking up the cudgels against those who "take for granted that the novels were disguised *reportage* and not quite the major works of imaginative art that they really are." The case was perhaps worth making, but it involves a misunderstanding.

There is no denying that a legend, a proliferation of legend, surrounds Malraux. Professor Frohock gives most of the reasons for this, to which, however, must be added what is perhaps the most important of all. It is a peculiarity which sets Malraux apart from every major French writer of the century and which has never, to the present reviewer's knowledge, been pointed out. It is a tradition in France for the writers who are in some degree the spokesmen of their generation to have, at least occasionally, a direct, almost personal, relation to their reading public. In reminiscences, journals, memoirs, travel diaries, short stories, poems, essays, newspaper articles, edi-

torials, prefaces—in one or more of these forms all the leading writers of comparable prestige of the last thirty years have communicated directly, in a first-person way, with their readers. Malraux is the exception. Has he, in refusing to talk about himself in public, deliberately given free rein to the legend? Or has he simply felt that his actions and his work as a writer sufficed to define him? In any case, the present reviewer feels that the "legend" is quite tangential to a critical consideration of Malraux as writer and as man of action.

The curious thing is that the major portion of what Professor Frohock presents as legend is verifiable fact. There are many little inaccuracies and much weighted assumption, which are important only from a strictly biographical point of view. What remains shadowy, and what troubles Professor Frohock, is precisely what happened during Malraux's first voyage to Indo-China, and what was Malraux's role in the events in Canton and in Shanghai—the subjects of *The Royal Way*, *The Conquerors*, and *Man's Fate*.

The author's concern with this problem is a legitimate one. It involves the artist's relation to his material and his use of it. It has, Professor Frohock says, been commonly assumed that these novels are eye-witness accounts. Whether they are or not affects "the nature, if not the quality of Malraux's achievement." This is perfectly true. Yet the fact that this problem does not present itself in the case of Malraux's other novels—*Days of Wrath*, in which we *know* he was not a participant, *Man's Hope*, in which we know he *was*, and *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg*, in which, except for the prologue and the epilogue, we know he was *not*—would suggest that the problem is not so fundamental. The only valid conclusion to which Professor Frohock's reasoning in relation to *The Conquerors* and *Man's Fate* leads is that Malraux wrote these two novels of violence without having a direct experience of comparable violence. The present reviewer bases this on the author's contention, which he italicizes, that "*Malraux's fictional world needs to be violent to be complete.*"

The point here is that Professor Frohock's analysis and partial correction of the legend throw no light on the problem. If he proves that Malraux was not present in Canton or Shanghai at the time of the events recorded in the novels, he does not and cannot prove that Malraux was not a witness or participant in parallel situations and in scenes involving violence comparable to those recorded in the novels. The fundamental question, perhaps, is not whether Malraux was present in Canton and Shanghai to witness the specific events that occurred on the historic dates recorded in the novels. What is really required to shed light on "the nature, if not the quality, of Malraux's achievement," or more simply on the nature of his inspiration and on his way of functioning, is to know (a) whether he has witnessed events of the same kind and quality as those which form the material of his novels, and (b) whether, and to what degree, he has participated in such events. There are sedentary, timorous, and

comfort-loving souls who make a specialty of writing bloodcurdling tales. There are men who lead lives of adventure and constant exposure to death who turn out playful or whimsical works in their moments of leisure. And there are intermediate cases, other combinations, of discrepancy between experience lived and the experience projected in a fictive form. The case that Professor Frohock makes for Malraux is not too clear, but the implication that he leaves, particularly with reference to *The Conquerors* and *Man's Fate*, is that Malraux did not, in preparation for the writing of these two novels, live through scenes of violence comparable to those recorded in them or play a role comparable to that played by his protagonists. This he has not proved, and cannot prove. (The question of historical accuracy is wholly secondary: these are works of fiction; the author has never offered them as transcriptions of actual events; it is not useful to give too much attention to critics who palpably misinterpret an author's intentions.)

We are led to a more basic question: that of the relative importance of action and of art (in its inclusive sense) in Malraux's life. Are the two separate and separable in him? Does he involve himself in dangerous political action merely in order to gather material for fiction? Or is he drawn to spots where the basic conflicts of our time have broken out with the sharpest violence, and impelled to interpret these events in terms of fiction, in response to a single, fused purpose, which is to change the world: to change it objectively, and to change man's vision of it? It is the present reviewer's contention that the known facts of Malraux's life, quite apart from the "legend," justify the last interpretation.

The legend presents Malraux as a heroic figure. The novels offer us portraits of a series of heroes who have lent color to the legend. To what extent do Malraux's own exploits compare with theirs? The facts concerning his activities in the Far East, by the nature of the case, are not of available record (although they certainly will be some day). His role as political figure and fighter since his return to Europe, however, is a matter of record and can be clearly separated from legend. It is a singular fact that no one has pointed out something in Malraux's career which is more sensational than anything that figures in the legend: no great French writer, past or present, has been so often wounded in battle nor received so many decorations for valor. Among these are the British Distinguished Service Order, hardly ever given to a foreigner, and the French Médaille de la Résistance, which is held by only 300 persons now living. The present reviewer has seen the document given him by the Spanish Republic in testimony of his services to the Loyalist cause (signed, among others, by La Pasionaria), and has read the official report of Malraux's exploits in the French Resistance, which reads like a summary of the exploits of one of his own heroes—all the more impressive as the account of Malraux's initiative, daring, and ability in organization



and leadership, of incidents such as that in which, though himself wounded, he drew the fire of the enemy in order to cover the evacuation of another more severely wounded superior officer, is presented in the colorless, formal language of governmental reports. It may be surmised, and will perhaps some day be known, that Malraux's actual experience of physical danger and violence goes even beyond that which is recorded in his fiction.

But while Malraux unquestionably is equally haunted by the need to participate in the events of history and by the urge to create, it is with the latter that Professor Frohock's book is mainly concerned. Professor Frohock makes a dichotomy between "disguised *reportage*" and "works of imaginative art." It goes without saying that whatever accuracy a novel may have as a document, its validity as a novel resides in a wholly different realm. Regarding the factual accuracy of his novels, Malraux told this reviewer recently, "I am perfectly willing to have it said that *nothing* in my novels is true—*mais attention!* [raising his forefinger]—on *one* condition: namely that it be also said that nothing in them is *untrue*." He went on to say, "Car rien n'est faux dans Hamlet en ce qui concerne l'histoire du Danemark. *C'est autre chose.*"

He brought up the example of Poussin. "Poussin went to Rome to paint Roman ruins. He would have painted Roman ruins anyhow. The ruins he painted were not the Roman ruins he saw. He simply needed to see them in order to paint what he wanted to paint." His own case, he said, was very much the same. He needed to be present at events like those in China and Spain in order to write about them. If he could write about them without seeing them, he added disarmingly, "Je serais un plus grand écrivain, voilà tout."

Professor Frohock tends, throughout, to play down the importance of politics in Malraux's career. "Politics," he says, "far from being the central subject of the novels, becomes a sort of context which permits the outlines of human destiny to appear in all their poignancy." It is hard to see exactly what he means by this. One might with equal justification say of *Othello* that jealousy, far from being the central subject of the play, becomes a sort of context which permits the outlines of human destiny to appear in all their poignancy—which would be equally true. Every work of art transcends the particularity of its subject matter. Yet the subject matter is the essential fabric out of which it is wrought. And the subject matter of Malraux's novels is certainly political: they concern individuals passionately involved in the struggle to maintain or to alter the existing relations of power in society.

On this whole matter the present reviewer's chief difference with Professor Frohock is really one of emphasis. While the latter tends to give the impression that Malraux's involvement in politics—or, as Malraux himself prefers to put it, in history—is quite secondary, the facts of Malraux's life tend to prove that it is primary.



Professor Frohock's assumptions regarding the "legend," and his persistent attempts to dissociate the political content of Malraux's novels from their value as art, give to his otherwise sharp perceptions a constant distortion of focus. He seems at one moment to be saying that they derive their power from the significant context of the situations in which their characters are placed, and at the next moment to be implying that it is too bad that these novels have a "political import" to detract from their "more broadly human import." When he writes, "Revolution seems to be not the subject but the setting in which the qualities and defects, the strengths and weaknesses of human character stand clearly out," one can only reply that, if this had not been the case, Malraux would not be a writer worthy of such a study as his. Nevertheless the setting remains as essential to a novel as limbs and organs to a man; it is not merely an interchangeable device which, like a slug, sets off a mechanism.

The question of propaganda is one that seems, in our time, to be too charged to be discussed with any objectivity. Professor Frohock's chapter, "The Will to Prove," is an illustration of this. In it he discusses *Days of Wrath* and *Man's Hope*. *Days of Wrath* is the story of a German communist, Kassner (the time is 1934 or 1935), who is thrown into a solitary cell in a Nazi prison where he spends several days, is released when a comrade gives himself up in order to save him, is flown back in a plane to Prague, where he rejoins his wife and his child. Professor Frohock's brilliant summary of the novel gives no hint of any propaganda elements (propaganda is another word which he never defines). He presents it as an attempt "to bring together once and for all, within the form of fiction, all the elements of tragedy," with a "stripping down . . . [a] concentration of focus upon a single figure, [a] subordination of all else to the plight of the human being. . . ." Yet after concluding his summary, he writes: "In *Days of Wrath* Malraux had a novel that perhaps conformed with his notions about the proper way to make propaganda."

In his equally brilliant summary of *Man's Hope*, Professor Frohock contends that "the intention of the literary artist [conflicts] directly with the intention of the propagandist." He makes an extremely interesting analysis of the rhythm of the novel and points out that certain fundamental "human" themes (*not* propagandistic) are developed for their greatest effect in terms of this rhythm. The propagandistic elements, he points out, have no relation to this rhythm. The evidence is extremely shaky. It is based largely on Professor Frohock's interpretation of the author's "intention," and in part on a supposed discrepancy between the formal pattern of the novel (its argument, its division into parts and subparts, with their titles) and its "rhythm" as it moves from scene to scene. To clinch his argument he points out that the most moving scene in the novel—the bringing down of the wounded aviators from the mountain—which plays up the theme of "fraternity," contradicts the "propagandistic" thesis made

earlier to the effect that fraternity cannot win a war. This is tantamount to saying that the recognition that love is not enough to make a successful marriage implies that love conflicts with marriage. If, as Rudolph Eucken said some hundred years ago, "Life is greater than logic," so is art. And it is perhaps safer at this juncture to say that if *Man's Hope* has the merit that Professor Frohock ascribes to it, it is neither because of nor in spite of whatever "propagandistic" elements it contains. The defects which he points out—"its confusions, its loose ends, its diffuseness"—he does not attribute to these elements.

The key to Professor Frohock's interpretation of Malraux, which gives his study its unity, is his theory that Malraux belongs to that somewhat special order of beings exemplified by his character, Victor Berger, in *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg*, who is "something of a shaman," and that "the fundamental characteristic of his writing [is] the habit of juxtaposing with an account of one man's defeat an image somehow suggestive of man's victory." It is, he says, the "refusal to accept the natural order of reality."

The title of Professor Frohock's book contains the phrase, "the tragic imagination," and while, as has been pointed out, this phrase is never used in the substance of the book, it hovers over everything that Professor Frohock writes when he attempts to define the special quality of Malraux's art. One thinks of the great tragic poets—Aeschylus, Sophocles, Shakespeare. What is Tragedy, as a literary genre, as poetry, as man's challenge in the face of an implacable destiny, but the "juxtaposing with an account of one man's defeat an image somehow suggestive of man's victory"? This is the "refusal to accept the natural order of reality." This is the essence of tragedy. One need not be a shaman to hold the tragic view of life.

Tragedy is linked to the concept of the hero. And it is perhaps Malraux's most remarkable achievement to have created authentic heroes in this age of disillusion, which seemed to have banished the hero from fiction.<sup>2</sup> It is in his description of the Malraux hero that the present reviewer finds Professor Frohock's account most unsatisfactory. Perhaps he is right in saying that "the concept of the single 'Hero' type has been overdone." Certainly there is not just one "hero" type. Yet all his heroes do have one thing in common, which Professor Frohock of course recognizes but does not set forth in his account (pp. 141-43, 146-47). They are all men who, on various levels, refuse to accept, not alone the "natural" order of reality, in the biological or cosmic sense, and which is what gives them heroic stature, but the "existing" order of things in the political, economic, or social sense, and who, with utter lucidity, dedicate themselves, often to the point of the

<sup>2</sup> The disillusioned view, anti-heroic in essence, in which "the Absurd" tends to become a value in itself (quite unlike its role in Malraux's work), is pointedly set forth in the following commentary on Napoleon made by one of Anatole France's characters: "Dans sa puérilité terrible et touchante, il crut qu'un homme peut être grand, et cet enfantillage ne le quitta pas même avec le temps et le malheur."

ultimate sacrifice, to changing that order. They are men who, in Malraux's phrase, set out to "give a meaning to their life," to "transform destiny into consciousness."

The trouble with Professor Frohock's "shaman" theory is that it implies a mystical approach to reality. The kind of enlightenment which the shaman of primitive society gains during his Withdrawal is otherworldly. Now there is nothing in what Professor Frohock presents in the way of evidence to suggest that either Malraux himself or his heroes are bearers of "enlightenment" of a mystical or otherworldly order. They are, rather, grim realists. They see their fate all too clearly. Yet they see something beyond their individual fate which justifies and counterbalances their individual defeat—something which is not mystical, though it is a projection of the mind, of the imagination: comradeship, human solidarity, the awakening of masses of men to a realization that their centuries-old enslavement is not their unchangeable destiny. The shaman is not, by Professor Frohock's account, one who returns from his mystical withdrawal to announce a new order of things. He is, like all medicine men, one whose function it is to maintain the existing order.

Professor Frohock dwells at length on the theme of Absurdity in Malraux's novels. But he does not sufficiently emphasize that this is one extreme of the spectrum, of the range of colors that Malraux uses in his palette. Christian dogma lays heavy emphasis on the feebleness and baseness of man and on the vanity of the world, but to stress this aspect of Christianity without giving due importance to the counterpart of man's ability to achieve salvation would be grossly to distort the picture. In Malraux's first novels the complementary themes have less scope and depth than they have in the later ones. But to say, even of *The Royal Way*, that the basic theme is Absurdity is to say that there is no story. The theme of this novel, if one must put it in such terms, would seem rather to be that the weapons which man has at his disposal for fighting Absurdity are feeble ones, but that he uses them. And though this is an unsatisfactory novel, there is no acceptance of defeat.

Of *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg*, Professor Frohock says that "the Absurd has more importance than it has had since *The Royal Way*." If this is true, it is because the darker shading was needed to bring out the greater highlights.

There are very few details to mar Professor Frohock's craftsman-like study. It should be pointed out that the walnut trees about which he makes so much point in connection with his interpretation of *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg* are not a "clump" (pp. xi, 133), but just two trees—which is important to the visual image, because the landscape which Berger sees, and the cathedral, are framed by them rather than seen through the screen that a clump would form. The end of Katow as related on pages 88-89 involves some misinterpretation (he was sentenced to be burned alive, not decapitated).

Professor Frohock could not of course know at the time of writing (p. vii) that Malraux is going to continue *La Lutte avec l'ange* after all. The first volume, *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg*, will be basically modified, redone in a different technique. And the novel about Mayrena is still a live project.

Professor Frohock mentions, but does not discuss, *Saturne*, Malraux's book on Goya (1950), which Pierre de Boisdeffre in a recent study<sup>3</sup> considers to be of the highest significance in Malraux's development. It suggests, as the book on Lawrence was apparently intended to do (as indicated by the title, *Le Démon de l'absolu*), that the quest for the absolute is the counterpoint to "metaphysical absurdity": "Il n'est pas moins de la nature de l'homme de se vouloir immortel que de se savoir homme" (p. 114). Like the other art books, it throws light on the novels and calls for careful scrutiny.

The several major strictures on Professor Frohock's interpretation made above, while they suggest that his picture of his subject has less objective validity than he might have hoped, should not cause the many excellencies of his study pointed out in the beginning of this review to be overlooked. He brings much new light to a difficult subject. His ability to stimulate in the reader a sharper awareness of the peculiar qualities of Malraux's art is perhaps his outstanding achievement. It should be said, in conclusion, that the complexity, the subtlety, and the depth of Malraux's mental and emotional world are such that no single account of them could hope to be in any sense definitive at this stage. Professor Frohock's is one that will long be consulted with profit and interest.<sup>4</sup>

Paris, France

<sup>3</sup> Pierre de Boisdeffre, *André Malraux*, Editions universitaires (Paris-Bruxelles, 1952). The same study, with very minor variations, appears in the first of his two-volume *Métamorphose de la Littérature*, Editions Alsatia, new edition (1953). The study on Malraux in this edition bears the subtitle, "Témoin du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle."

<sup>4</sup> Students of Malraux will be interested to know that he is at the present writing setting out for India to complete documentation for a book on bas-reliefs, which will form a companion volume to his recent *Le Musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale* (December, 1952).

## A NEGLECTED ENGLISH IMITATION OF MONTESQUIEU'S *LETTRES PERSANES*

By ALESSANDRO S. CRISAFULLI

The fiction entitled *Letters from an Armenian in Ireland to his Friends at Trebisonde*, first published at Dublin in 1756, is obviously one of the many works stemming from the vogue of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* which appeared in 1721.<sup>1</sup> A brief treatment of it is found in Hamilton J. Smith's study of *The Citizen of the World*, but Smith considers it only from the standpoint of its influence on Goldsmith's fiction.<sup>2</sup>

My point of view in examining the *Letters from an Armenian* is just the opposite. I wish to show here how this fiction is related to Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* and to Lyttleton's *Letters from a Persian in England to his Friend at Ispahan*, published in 1735. The article is thus intended to be a contribution to the history of the pseudo-Oriental letter after Montesquieu. When completed, such a history will make it possible to trace the line of descent and the interrelations of the numerous brothers of Usbek and Rica and to assess the fortunes of Montesquieu's first work in all its aspects. It will also show in what ways Montesquieu's formula was modified by his many imitators.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The title page of the second edition reads as follows: *Letters from an Armenian in Ireland to his Friends at Trebisonde, &c. Translated in the Year 1756*. London: Printed for W. Owen, at Temple-Bar. MDCCLVII. The work is of doubtful authorship, being attributed both to Edmund Sexton Pery and to Robert Hellen (see Halkett and Laing, new and enlarged ed., III, 321). All references are to the second edition.

<sup>2</sup> Oliver Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World: A Study*, Yale Studies in English, LXXI (New Haven, 1926), pp. 83-85. Smith concludes that these letters, of which Goldsmith gave an account in the *Monthly Review*, influenced the composition of *The Citizen* only in a negative way. That is not exact. The love and adventure story of Hingpo and Zelis, though showing, as Smith points out, some similarities with the frame-tale of Lyttleton's *Letters from a Persian*, is in fact much more closely related to the story of Selim and Zaida in the *Letters from an Armenian* (Letter XXX).

<sup>3</sup> Besides Smith's study, there exist several other contributions to this history which, however, cannot be fully written until after all imitations are discovered and studied. The previous contributions are: Martha L. Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1908), pp. 183-85; Levette J. Davidson, "Forerunners of Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*," *MLN*, XXXVI (1921), 215-20; Ronald S. Crane and Hamilton J. Smith, "A French Influence on Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*," *MP*, XIX (1921-22), 83-92; F. C. Green, "Montesquieu the Novelist and Some Imitations of the *Lettres Persanes*," *MLR*, XX (1925), 32-42; Rose Mary Davis, *The Good Lord Lyttleton: A Study in Eighteenth Century Politics and Culture* (Bethlehem, Pa., 1939), pp. 38-44; Sister Mary Chrysostom Diebels, *Peter Markoe (1752?-1792): A Philadelphia Writer* (Washington, D.C., 1944), pp. 49-66 (Markoe's *The Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania or Letters written by a Native of Algiers on the Affairs of the United States in America* [1787]); Marie-Louise Dufrenoy, *L'Orient romanesque en France, 1704-1789: Etude d'histoire*

The title of our fiction is patterned directly on Lyttleton's *Letters from a Persian in England to his Friend in Ispahan*. Immediately popular, this first English imitation of Montesquieu's masterpiece was to influence, in one way or another, most of the subsequent imitations in the English language.<sup>4</sup>

The author of the *Letters from an Armenian* reveals immediately that he owes Lyttleton more than just the title. At the very beginning of his correspondence, the Armenian refers to Lyttleton's work under the title of "Letters of Selim to Mirza,"<sup>5</sup> and uses them as the point of departure for his own, just as Lyttleton had done with the *Lettres Persanes*. Lyttleton had linked his letters to Montesquieu's by imagining that Selim knew Usbek and Mirza.<sup>6</sup> Our author relates his to Lyttleton's by supposing that the principal correspondent of his Oriental traveler, Aza the Armenian,<sup>7</sup> is Selim's friend, Abdallah, who first appears in Letter XXVI of Lyttleton's fiction and whose story is told in Letters XLIV and LXXX. This is made clear in the opening passage of Aza's correspondence:

Thou hast seen in the Letters of Selim to Mirza, a just representation of the people of England, their genius, their manners, the frame of their government de critique littéraires (Montréal, 1946), pp. 115-95; Juan Tamayo y Rubio, "Cartas Marruecas del Coronel D. Joseph Cadahalso," *Anales de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras*, Universidad de Granada, No. 2 (1926), 125-36, No. 3 (1927), 7-65; Emily Cotton, "Cadalso and His Foreign Sources," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, VIII (1931), 5-18 (reprinted in *Liverpool Studies in Spanish Literature*, first series. *From Cadalso to Rubén Darío*, ed. E. A. Peers [Liverpool, 1940], pp. 1-18); Katherine Reding, "A Study of the Influence of Oliver Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* upon the *Cartas Marruecas* of José Cadalso," *Hispanic Review*, II (1934), 226-34.

<sup>4</sup> Lyttleton's fiction went through a second, third, and fourth edition in its first year of publication, had a fifth in 1744, and still others as late as 1792 and 1796. It is noteworthy that the title page of the third edition, with only the necessary changes in the title, is used for an edition of Ozell's translation of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*. It is as follows: "*Letters from a Persian in Paris to his Friend at Ispahan*. Non ita Certandi Cupidus, quam propter Amorem Quod te imitari Aveo. The Third Edition. London: Printed for J. Millan, at the Corner of Buckingham-Court, near the Admiralty-Office. MDCCXXXV." It appears to be an effort on the part of the publishers of Ozell's translation to capitalize on the popularity of Lyttleton's imitation; for there was no third edition of Ozell's translation in 1735, though bibliographers list two third editions: one, London, 1731, the other, London, J. Tonson, 1736. Lyttleton's title is also exploited by the author of the *Letters from a Moor at London to his Friend at Tunis*, published in 1736, essentially a guide and travel book; there is very little which characterizes this foreign observer as Oriental, much less as a Moor and a Mahometan.

<sup>5</sup> The *Letters from a Persian* was known by this title because all but two of the eighty-two letters of the third edition and all but one of the eighty of the fifth edition are written by Selim to his friend Mirza. An anonymous continuation of Lyttleton's fictitious letters is in fact entitled: *The Persian Letters continued, or the second Volume of Letters from Selim at London, to Mirza at Ispahan*. See Halkett and Laing ed. cit., IV, 326.

<sup>6</sup> See Letter I. Usbec or Usbeck, as the name is spelled by Lyttleton, is referred to again in Letters XII and LIII. All references are to the third edition, 1735. The numbering of the letters of the early editions does not correspond to that of the 1744 edition, since the total was reduced from eighty-two to eighty.

<sup>7</sup> The name Aza was very probably borrowed from the *Lettres Péruviennes* (1747) or its imitation, the *Lettres d'Aza ou d'un Péruvien* (1748).



ment, and the dangers to which it is subject. I cannot tell thee more than that the British Constitution seems now hastening to some new revolution, by the very means which Selim, whom our holy prophet inspired, foretold thee: by corruption.<sup>8</sup>

But it is not enough for the author of the *Letters from an Armenian* to link his fiction to Lyttleton's. He also connects it directly with Montesquieu's by including Usbek (spelled with a *k* as in Montesquieu), as one of Aza's correspondents, in a letter which, as we shall later see, is inspired by the French author. The device is obviously intended to give continuity and greater authenticity and vraisemblance to the fiction and to arouse immediately the interest of the readers who are supposed to be acquainted with the two famous Persian observers, Usbek the observer of France, and Selim the observer of England.

The introductory remarks "To the Public" are with original variations a type of lying preface made popular by Marana in *L'Espion turc*. The essential elements of such a preface are that the foreign observer leaves copies of his letters behind (*L'Espion turc* and minor imitations) or allows them to be copied (*Lettres Persanes*), that the letters are then translated and edited with a justification of the Oriental style (*L'Espion turc*) or an excuse for not reproducing more exactly the original Oriental expression (*Lettres Persanes*, *Letters from a Persian*). Our author's preface is related more closely to that of Montesquieu insofar as it states that the letters were voluntarily put at the disposal of the person with whom the Oriental traveler was lodged. Moreover, in giving a specific reason why the Oriental style was not completely imitated, the author of the *Letters from an Armenian* makes his preface conform to Montesquieu's and Lyttleton's, though he adds an original twist in supposing that the translator is not identical with the editor.<sup>9</sup> The letters, our author states,

were written by an Armenian, who resided very lately in the house of an eminent commoner of Ireland. When he quitted the kingdom, he left a copy of these letters in the Armenian language, which were translated by a gentleman whose literary collections on the East, leave no doubt of his knowledge of the Eastern languages. It would be injustice to that gentleman to omit, that his translation was solely made to gratify the curiosity of him to whose hands the letters were committed, and with no design that it should appear in public; therefore the Eastern cast of expression was not always attended to.<sup>10</sup>

Of the thirty-one letters comprising the work, thirty are written by Aza and twenty-three of these are addressed to Abdallah (Letters I-XII, XVI-XXIII, XXVIII-XXIX, XXXI). Thus the author follows Lyttleton in tending to limit the correspondence almost exclusively to letters sent by the foreign traveler to a friend at home whose answers are occasionally acknowledged but do not figure in the col-

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 7-8. In all quotations from the two English fictions, italics and capitalization of common nouns have been disregarded.

<sup>9</sup> "The editor therefore hopes he will be excused for publishing it without leave of the writer or of the translator" (p. vi).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. v-vi.



lection, a practice which marks a backward step to *L'Espion turc*. But Montesquieu's example is also evident. Aza has more recipients than Selim, and he exchanges letters with one of them. The Armenian, in addition to Abdallah, writes to his daughter Zelima (Letter XIII), to his other friends Ali Izra (Letters XIV, XV, XXVI) and Osman (Letters XXVII and XXX), and to Usbek in answer to a letter from him (Letters XXIV-XXV). He also receives a letter from Ibrahim, a young Persian visiting England, which he includes in one of his letters to Abdallah (Letter XVII).

A typical feature of Montesquieu's fiction and that of his imitator Lyttleton is that the Oriental observer is often accompanied by a native friend who acts as his guide and informant. It is the guide's function to explain aspects of European civilization which puzzle the Oriental, as he observes places and persons of interest. The author of *Letters from an Armenian* adopts the device, Aza's guide being of course an Irish friend. His comments and explanations help Aza understand the passion for card playing, the daring behavior of a gallant and of the women who accept his attentions (Letter VIII), the activities in the assembly of the House of Commons (Letter X, XI), the defects in the system of education (Letter XII), the way justice is administered (Letter XVI), the manner of conducting funerals and the use of professional mourners (Letter XIX), the eating habits of the Irish (Letter XX), the behavior of Irish orators and the abuse of eloquence (Letter XXIII).

Another characteristic element of the formula as perfected by Montesquieu is that the principal observer is accompanied by another Oriental. Lyttleton does not exploit this element; he reverts to the one-observer type of fiction which preceded Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* and prevailed after it. The author of the Armenian fiction, however, had apparently intended to follow Montesquieu more closely. In Letter XIX, Aza is joined by an Oriental friend named Omar, who makes a brief appearance in the role of the inquiring Oriental, but of whom nothing further is heard until the last letter. Then Aza informs Abdallah that he is leaving Ireland but, he adds, "Omar will continue here many moons and he will inform thee of what happeneth during his stay."<sup>11</sup>

Both Lyttleton and the author of the *Letters from an Armenian* do introduce in their correspondence other Orientals residing in England or traveling toward it. But their purpose in doing so is not to further the satirical aspect of their works. These other Orientals are used to supply in a different manner the narrative interest which plays an important role in the *Lettres Persanes*, both in the frame story and in intercalated stories. The idea of a frame story with a love theme is kept by Lyttleton, but it is worked out in an inferior manner and as an afterthought.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 250.

The ending is not entirely unprepared, however. Selim does show early in his correspondence amorous propensities. In Letter XXV his eye is caught by a pretty English girl with whom he falls in love and whose hand he requests in marriage. The match is not made because Selim could not accept the conditions set down by the mother and the daughter. It is obvious that Lyttleton's intention is to contrast humorously European and Persian marriage customs, not to involve his observer in a love affair. In Letter LXXI, Selim is told that an English lady wants to see him. He imagines her to be young and beautiful and is eager to see the conquest he has made. But the lady turns out to be an old woman. Lyttleton does finally make a belated attempt to inject some real novelistic interest into his fiction. Selim confides to Mirza that he has suddenly fallen in love with Abdallah's wife, Zelis, who was left in his custody during his friend's absence from London. This is a clumsily motivated means of putting an end to the correspondence; for Selim decides to leave England in order to avoid Zelis' charms and to forget her. (See Letter LXXXI.)

The frame story has no place at all in the *Letters from an Armenian*, no attempt being made to entangle the Armenian observer in a love affair. The author of this fiction relies only on the other device of his models for supplying romantic interest: the intercalated story of adventure and love.<sup>12</sup> He includes two of these. The first, toward the middle of the work (Letter XVII), is the story of the tragic love of Aza's friend, Ibrahim, "an excellent young Persian, who, unsatisfied with the learning of our East, visited the schools and courts of the Western world" (p. 114). While in London, he falls in love with the wife of the son of a rich Turkish merchant, but is spurned and finally dies in a storm as he sets out to visit her at Bath, where he has heard she has gone. The other story, at the end (Letter XXX), is a longer fiction of adventure and love with a happy ending. The faithful Selim, an Armenian friend of Aza, left his country with the intention of learning "the manners and policy of European states" (p. 211).<sup>13</sup> Captured by pirates and sold into slavery, he is befriended by Zaida who falls in love with him. They escape together, are separated and finally reunited in England.

There are several cases of specific imitation of letters or parts of letters from both Montesquieu's and Lyttleton's fictions. Letter VIII, a satire on the passion for card playing, is inspired by Letter VII of *Letters from a Persian*, which itself had very probably been suggested

<sup>12</sup> See *Lettres Persanes*, LXVII, CXLI, ed. E. Carcassonne (Paris: F. Roches, 1929), 2 vols.; *Letters from a Persian*, VIII, XXXIV, XLIV, LXXX.

<sup>13</sup> The desire for knowledge and wisdom as motive for the Oriental's traveling to Europe is an element in the formula of the fiction of the pseudo-Oriental observer as perfected by Montesquieu (cf. *Lettres Persanes*, I, and *Letters from a Persian*, I). Strangely our author does not follow his models in the case of his main observer, Aza, who gives no specific reason for leaving his country and visiting Ireland.

by Montesquieu (Letter LVI). The author of the *Letters from an Armenian* reproduces, with verbal borrowings, a gambling scene which features a nobleman and a commoner playing a game in which the stakes are the nobleman's position and fortune.<sup>14</sup>

The Armenian's criticism of the system of education (Letter XII) shows a close relationship with that in Lyttleton's Letter XLVIII. Both writers criticize, through native guides, the fact that no English was then taught in the schools, and satirize the practice of the nobility in sending young gentlemen to Italy to finish off their educations.

Further suggestions provided by Lyttleton to the author of the *Letters from an Armenian* may be found in the treatment of judges and the administration of justice. Both Orientals visit the Hall of Justice, both are told about the venality of certain judges, but the development is different (cf. *Letters from a Persian*, XXIX; *Letters from an Armenian*, XVI). It is also very probable that the author of the Armenian fiction followed Lyttleton's example in discussing eloquence; but here again the subject is handled differently (Lyttleton, Letters XLV-XLVII; *Letters from an Armenian*, XXII).

Usbek's letter to Aza and the latter's answer to it (Letters XXIV and XXV) are clearly inspired by the *Lettres Persanes*. In writing to Aza against religious persecution, Usbek appears again as a champion of religious tolerance, just as he had done in Letter LXXXV of

<sup>14</sup> Here are the two texts:

#### LETTERS FROM AN ARMENIAN

Several of the men and women . . . began to shuffle and throw from hand to hand those painted papers called cards, of which thou hast read. . . . It is of all trades the most general, the lord and lackey are on equal footing at it. . . . I do not see how you can call this an amusement; I thought your women beautiful before, but their faces are now distorted. . . . Behold that lord trafficking with a beggar; it depends on the accident of five or six spots appearing on the next paper which is turned up, whether he shall tomorrow sell his estate to pay a debt of honour, and ruin the creditors who have been six months past supplying his table with the necessaries of life. I was going to inform the Lord upon what unjust terms he played, when his evil fortune prevailed, and left him not worth a shilling. I am told the court has since given him an yearly pension, as a reward for his prodigality, and the sharper who hath his estate, is sent to sit in Parliament and traffic there. (Letter VIII, pp. 57-58, 59-60)

#### LETTERS FROM A PERSIAN

They [the men and women] seemed wonderfully intent upon some bits of painted paper which they held in their hands. I imagined that they were performing some magical ceremony, and that the figures I saw traced on the bits of paper, were a mystical talisman or charm. What more confirmed me in this belief was the grimaces and distortions of their countenances. . . . How! said I, do you call this play! Yes, replied he, they never are well pleased unless their whole fortunes are at stake. Those cards, you see them hold, are to decide whether he who is now a man of quality shall be a beggar, or another who is now a beggar, and has but just enough to furnish out one night's play, shall be a man of Quality. (Letter VII, pp. 15-16)

Montesquieu's collection. Aza's answer comparing the birth of Christ to the birth of Mahomet is suggested by Montesquieu's Letter XXXIX which deals with the wonders accompanying Mahomet's birth and by his Letter XXV which compares the Mahometan and the Christian religions. In both works the similarities of the two religions are stressed, and the conclusion is reached that the Christians will some day be converted to Mahometanism. In these letters, the debt of the English author to Montesquieu goes beyond the ideas. A few sentences and phrases are in fact literally translated or freely adapted.<sup>15</sup> The beginning of Letter XIV to Ali Izra may have been suggested by Montesquieu's Letter XVI in which Usbek hyperbolically praised the wisdom, sanctity, and privileged position of mollah Mèhémet Ali. With the same Oriental exaggeration Aza praises Ali Izra for his wisdom and for being loved by Mahomet, Ebubekir, and Hali. Finally the gallant in Letter VIII and the observations concerning the behavior of Irish women, who seem to be easy conquests, recall respectively the *homme à bonnes fortunes* in *Lettres Persanes*,

<sup>15</sup> LETTERS FROM AN ARMENIAN

What thinkest thou of the Christians?

Will they hear the voice of our Prophet? Shall the world continue a stage of contending sectaries? (Letter XXIV, p. 175)

They [the Christians who have cast off their faith in the divinity of Christ] will differ from us so little, that, perhaps, without force or violence they may be brought to receive the law which was handed down to our prophet by the angels from the throne. (Letter XXV, p. 185)

The Christians differ not so widely from the Mussulmen, as is generally supposed. (Letter XXV, p. 182)

The Christians expect a life after this, and a paradise not unlike ours; in which they hope they will have no wishes ungratified. (Letter XXV, pp. 183-84)

The thrones of the earth tottered at his appearance; down fell the graven images; and the oracles were silent. (Letter XXV, p. 182)

LETTRES PERSANES

Que penses-tu des chrétiens, sublime Dervis?

Il viendra un jour où l'Eternel ne verra sur la Terre que des vrais Croyants; le temps, qui consume tout, détruira les erreurs mêmes; tous les hommes seront étonnés de se voir sous le même étendard. . . .

D'ailleurs si l'on examine de près leur religion, on y trouvera comme une semence de nos dogmes. J'ai souvent admiré les secrets de la Providence, qui semble les avoir voulu préparer par là à la conversion générale. Letter XXXV)

La Loi, qui a été écrite de la main des Anges? (Letter XVII)

Ils espèrent de jouir d'un paradis où ils goûteront mille délices. . . . (Letter XXXV)

Toutes les idoles se prosternèrent; les trônes des rois furent renversés. . . . L'art des magiciens et négromans se trouve sans vertu. (Letter XXXIX)

XLVIII, and Usbek's judgment of French women in Letter XXVI.<sup>18</sup>

The *Lettres Persanes* contains on the whole an authentic and comprehensive picture of the Orient. This aspect of Montesquieu's fiction, however, is neglected by Lyttleton and even more so by the author of the *Letters from an Armenian*. Both are primarily interested in using the device of the Oriental observer as a vehicle for satirizing the countries observed. The Oriental point of view and psychology are nevertheless sufficiently in evidence in the *Letters from an Armenian* so that the reader is not allowed to forget for too long that the writer is supposed to be an Oriental. Thus Aza's faith in the moral, religious, and political superiority of Oriental civilization is revealed by brief statements in Letters I, VIII, X, XI, XIV, XXVIII, and is more fully expressed in Letter XXV through the praise of Mahomet. Oriental manners and customs, on the other hand, are glimpsed only in Letters XIII and XXX. As for the style, it will be recalled that the author in his introductory remarks to the public, stated that the translator neglected the "Eastern cast of expression." In fact, the attempt to imitate the Oriental style is limited to the consistent use of the familiar *thou*, to a few Oriental terms, to a heightened tone of expression in Letters XIII and the beginning of Letter XIV, and to a few lofty and far-fetched comparisons in Letters XIV and XVII.

In conclusion, the *Letters from an Armenian* conforms to the formula of the Oriental-observer fiction as it prevailed in England. Unlike Montesquieu's French imitators who preferred to exploit the romanesque and erotic aspects of his fiction, the English chose to emphasize the elements of satire and essay. At any rate, Montesquieu's felicitous formula, interestingly combining a frame story, authentic Oriental color, satire, and essay, was never recaptured effectively by any of his imitators.

Catholic University of America

#### 18 LETTERS FROM AN ARMENIAN

Do not imagine that, though he hath sullied their reputations, he hath therefore sullied their persons; our women are not arrived to that ease . . . of doing at once what they desire to do. . . . Though many of them promise an easy conquest, they will hold out long. . . . (Letter VIII, p. 62)

#### LETTRES PERSANES

Ce n'est pas . . . que je pense qu'elles poussent l'attentat aussi loin qu'une pareille conduite devrait le faire croire, et qu'elles portent la débauche à cet excès horrible, qui fait frémir, de violer absolument la foi conjugale. Il y a bien peu de femmes assez abandonnées, pour aller jusques-là. . . . Elles peuvent bien se relâcher des devoirs extérieurs que la pudeur exige; mais, quand il s'agit de faire les derniers pas, la nature se révolte. (Letter XXVI)

## REVIEWS

*Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies*. Edited by THOMAS A. KIRBY and HENRY B. WOOLF. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1949. Pp. x + 382. \$7.50.

This imposing volume of forty-three articles honoring Professor Kemp Malone's sixtieth birthday and his twenty-fifth anniversary as a Johns Hopkins faculty member opens with a salutation to him and closes with a full bibliography of his publications from 1918 to 1948. The first article, "The Varieties of Riddles" (pp. 1-8) by Archer Taylor, shows how a methodical study of such a genre often reveals new information. Erika von Erhardt-Siebold, "The Old English Loom Riddles" (pp. 9-17), treats Exeter riddles 35, 56, and 70, which refer to the weaver's craft. They show that the Anglo-Saxons knew the advanced methods of weaving, something which scholars who have misinterpreted them do not. Norman E. Eliason suggests "Christ walking on the sea" as the solution of "Riddle 68 of the *Exeter Book*" (pp. 18-19), which scholars have generally interpreted as "winter" or "ice." Francis P. Magoun, Jr., "Danes, North, South, East, and West, in *Beowulf*" (pp. 20-24), says there is "little doubt that the Danes were at one time classified according to the four cardinal points," although the *Beowulf* poet "made use of these terms pretty much at random." Simeon Potter, "King Alfred's Last Preface" (pp. 25-30), corrects the errors in the text of Alfred's preface to the Old English version of St. Augustine's *Soliloquies* and gives an accurate translation, which, let us hope, will stop future textbook makers from copying, errors and all, P. G. Thomas' rendering (*CHEL*, I, 103). Else von Schaubert, "Zur Erklärung Schwierigkeiten blickender Altenglischer Textstellen" (pp. 31-42), corrects textual errors in a number of printed editions. G. W. Cobb, "The Subjunctive Mood in Old English Poetry" (pp. 43-55), thinks the subjunctive expresses the psychological state of the writer or some other person. Robert J. Menner, "The Anglian Vocabulary of the *Blickling Homilies*" (pp. 56-64), thinks evidence insufficient to date the work by vocabulary, but most of the homilies were composed in Anglian, and were a product of Mercian learning. Rudolph Willard, "The Blickling-Junius Tithing Homily and Caesarius of Arles" (pp. 65-78), shows that this homily is based largely on a work of Caesarius. A. H. Marckwardt, "Verb Inflections in Late Old English" (pp. 79-88), reexamines early materials studied by Malone and Moore, seeking to clarify our concept of the changes during the late Old English period. B. J. Whiting, "The Rime of King William" (pp. 89-96), corrects Plummer's printing of the *Rime* and thinks the evidence here shows those scholars are correct who date the general dropping of *n* and the leveling of unaccented vowels before the Norman Conquest. Dorothy Bethurum, "A Letter of Protest from the English Bishops to the Pope" (pp. 97-104), thinks this protest shows that the popes of the early eleventh century tried to strengthen ties between England and Rome by insisting on conferring the pallium in person and that the English prelates protested infringement of their ancient right. H. Lüdeke, "The London Basin in the Saxon Invasion" (pp. 105-109), concludes "that the Lower Thames Basin was settled early by a mixed population of fishermen and farmers, while the Middle Thames . . . was left to . . . settlement by a type of population that tried to make a living on the river traffic and usually failed." T. P. Cross, "Celtic Mythology and Arthurian Romance" (pp. 110-14), points out a few much needed lessons to be learned from two studies by O'Rahilly and Malone. H. R. Patch treats "The



Adaptation of Otherworld Motifs to Medieval Romance" (pp. 115-23). Howard Meroney treats "Full Name and Address in Early Irish" (pp. 124-31). Laura H. Loomis traces "The Saint Mercurius Legend in Medieval England and in Norse Saga" (pp. 132-43). Eilert Ekwall treats ME *fōn* and *sen* in "Two Middle English Etymologies" (pp. 144-53). C. T. Onions gives "Comments and Speculations on the Text of *Havelok*" (pp. 154-63). Henning Larson treats a text difficulty in "*Cursor Mundi* 1291" (pp. 164-66). H. L. Savage explains "The Green Knight's *Molaynes*" (pp. 167-78). Marie P. Hamilton gives illuminating information about "The Convent of Chaucer's Prioress and Her Priests" (pp. 179-90). Roger S. Loomis cites "A Parallel to the Franklin's Discussion of Marriage" (pp. 191-94). D. D. Griffith, "On Word Studies in Chaucer" (pp. 195-99), illustrates by word-study a good method of making Chaucer's thought clear and vivid. Albert C. Baugh, "A Fraternity of Drinkers" (pp. 200-207), publishes a poem blending the themes of parody of a religious order and the joys of Bacchus. W. P. Fischer traces the Lear legend in "King Lear at Tuebingen: Johannes Naclerus and Geoffrey of Monmouth" (pp. 208-27). Stith Thompson treats in the folklorist manner "Story-Writers and Story-Tellers" (pp. 228-34). S. A. Small analyzes a Walters Art Gallery drawing in "The *Inuentus* Stage of Life" (pp. 235-38). Helge Kökeritz treats "John Hart and Early Standard English" (pp. 239-48). P. H. Goepp shows the faults and virtues of Richard Verstegan's philological work in "Verstegan's 'Most Ancient Saxon Words'" (pp. 249-55). T. A. Kirby prints four letters which illuminate Jefferson's linguistic interests in "Jefferson's Letters to Pickering" (pp. 256-68). F. D. Cooley shows how carelessness, personal animosity, and patriotism kept Grundtvig's contemporaries from giving him credit for his discovery in "Contemporary Reaction to the Identification of Hygelac" (pp. 269-74). D. J. Savage treats "Grundtvig: A Stimulus to Old English Scholarship" (pp. 275-80). H. B. Woolf shows the importance of Longfellow for the beginning of Old English studies in America in "Longfellow's Interest in Old English" (pp. 281-89). Thomas Pyles traces variations between the pretentious and the sensible in "That Fine Italian 'A' in American English" (pp. 290-95). R. W. Zandvoort writes "On Two Collective Functions of the Nominal S-Suffix" (pp. 296-305). A. W. Read discusses "English Words with Constituent Elements Having Independent Semantic Value" (pp. 306-12). H. L. Mencken treats "The Birth of New Verbs" (pp. 313-19). E. E. Ericson lists some "New Meanings in Current English" (pp. 320-27). Gudmund Schütte, "*Gothonic*: The Most Neutral Denomination for the Germanic Nations" (pp. 328-31), would substitute this ambiguous term for our *Germanic*. W. A. Read collects "Various Words from the Antilles and South America" (pp. 332-41). Stefan Einarsson surveys (with a bibliography) "Icelandic Popular Poetry in the Middle Ages" (pp. 342-53). Björn Gudfinnsson points out "An Icelandic Dialect Feature: The Pronunciation of *HV*- and *KV*-" (pp. 354-61).

MILLETT HENSHAW

University of Miami

*The Admonition Controversy.* By DONALD JOSEPH MCGINN. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1949. Pp. xii + 589. \$6.50.

This is an important book, because it does something that has needed to be done for a long time, and it does it well. It defines the place of the anonymous pamphlet, *An Admonition to the Parliament of 1572*, already recognized in the



words of Frere and Douglas as the "first open manifesto of the puritan party," in the development of the Puritan attack upon the Elizabethan Settlement, and it charts with admirable lucidity the course of the controversy that ensued, with such notable consequences for both religion and literature. Mr. McGinn traces the obscure beginnings of the controversy in the vestiarian dispute among the London clergy which broke into print in the famous *A brieve discourse against the outwarde apparell and Ministring garmentes of the popishe church* of 1566. From that emerged the two key principles of the Puritan attack, first "that the Scriptures contain the complete plan for the 'edification,' or building, of God's church, and second, that the authority of the magistrate is subordinate to that of the church." The authors of the *Admonition* in 1572 not only extend their predecessors' arraignment of "popish remnants" in the rites and ceremonies of the church, but attack systematically the entire government of the Church of England, demanding the abolition of the episcopal hierarchy and the substitution of their own Presbyterian discipline with ministers, elders, and deacons to take the place of the Episcopal orders.

Since this first pamphlet gave little more than a sketch of the proposed reorganization, a *Second Admonition* was clearly needed. This, published toward the end of 1572, Mr. McGinn attributes to Thomas Cartwright, who in his lectures as Lady Margaret Professor had as early as 1569-1570 been attacking the existing ecclesiastical order on the same grounds. Meanwhile John Whitgift, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, had prepared an *Answer* to the *Admonition*, which appeared about the same time as the *Second Admonition*, in November of 1572. In the spring of 1573 Cartwright published his *Reply* to Whitgift's *Answer*, and in February of 1574 Whitgift issued his *Defense* of his *Answer*. In 1575 Cartwright published his *Second reply* and in 1577 *The rest of the second reply*.

Mr. McGinn threads his way very dexterously through this controversy, analyzing the issues and defining not only the positions but the assumptions and attitudes which led the controversialists to take up those positions. Cartwright demands the removal of all vestiges of the accretions of the centuries of Roman Catholicism and a return to the primitive church. For that radical reform Cartwright believes he finds the pattern and plan in Scripture, including not only the New Testament but relevant portions of the Old. And Cartwright not only defines the "discipline" for which the Presbyterians were to crusade long after his death, but as Mr. McGinn shows, he also foreshadows the antimonarchical Puritan political theory which was to have such revolutionary consequences in the political as well as religious field in the next century. On the other hand, Whitgift in his defense of the existing order in the Church of England not only challenges the Scriptural evidences which Cartwright advances and the methods of interpretation which he employs, but is driven to define his own position between Rome and Geneva, the famous *via media*.

Most of the students of this controversy have tended to favor Cartwright as a person and a controversialist. Mr. McGinn challenges that preference. He analyzes and approves Whitgift's arraignment of Cartwright's methods of argument. He certainly produces sufficient evidence from Cartwright's own writings to bear out Whitgift's main objections: that Cartwright piles up marginal citations from Scripture that look imposing enough to the reader who does not bother to look them up, but often have very little to do with the matter in hand; that Cartwright allows himself a good deal of leeway in the interpretation of relevant texts from Scripture and does not hesitate, even when a liberal interpre-

tation fails him, to resort to congenial implications and assumptions to support his argument; that, in short, he is addicted to begging the question and circular reasoning. Whitgift's scholarliness and painstaking habits of argument and writing have certainly not received anything like their due. But I am not sure that Mr. McGinn does justice to the controversial effectiveness of Cartwright. What seems pretty cavalier, not to say, sloppy, to the latter-day scholar reading calmly in his closet must have seemed audacity and the impatience of zeal and conviction to the contemporary reader. Cartwright's suggestion that God will furnish the man called to a public calling with the necessary gifts was to be illustrated with some rather fantastic examples among the Puritan extremists of the next century, but among the men who first read that suggestion there must have been many who found its confidence stimulating and heartening in a world of many restrictions and frustrations.

So with the relations between the two men. If the roles were reversed, we may be sure, as Mr. McGinn well suggests, that Cartwright would have shown less consideration to the nonconformist, but the role of the official maintaining institutional order at the cost of frustrating the unruly is an unsympathetic one. Cartwright never had a chance to carry out the rather savage policy of national discipline which he envisaged; so it is easier to plead the temper of the time for his understanding if not excuse. It is best to let him speak for himself, as Mr. McGinn does most of the time.

As for the organization of the book, Mr. McGinn unquestionably gains an advantage in the first part by keeping citations of the works under discussion to a minimum so that the main development of the lines of analysis and criticism is not clogged. The result is an admirably terse and swift-moving and lucid summary of some very complicated historical and intellectual developments. But the second and larger part of the book, consisting of an abridgment of the controversy in the words of the controversialists themselves, is not always so easy to follow and in the bulk comes to seem cumbersome and even at times repetitious. The justification is, of course, that the works themselves are difficult of access. Mr. McGinn has made his abridgment with great care and real discrimination. To keep control of such material is no mean achievement in itself, and this Mr. McGinn has at all times done. But this aspect of an admirable book is the one to be imitated with considerable reserve.

HELEN C. WHITE

*University of Wisconsin*

*Playwriting for Elizabethans, 1600-1605.* By MARY CRAPO HYDE. New York: Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, No. 167, 1949. Pp. ix + 258. \$4.00.

To her good works as patron of Elizabethan studies, Mrs. Hyde has added a work of scholarship. At the close of the first chapter ("Playwriting"), in which she reviews the principles of Aristotle, Horace, and Renaissance critics and especially of Sidney, Jonson, and Lope, she states the aim of the book: "to give practical advice to an Elizabethan, of the type which Lope gave, that is: to require a writer's acceptance of dramatic principles; and to allow him, if he wishes, a respectful glance at conventions of the past; but to insist upon his careful study of the practices of the contemporary theatre" (pp. 18-19). In the chapters which follow ("Themes," "Characters," "Beginning," "Middle," "End,"

and "Conventions") she examines the practice of every extant play from the period and at times is able to show that some dramaturgic elements are characteristic of the period 1600-1605.

One would think that in a book of advice to playwrights, the author might tell them how to make an artistic or financial success. But when *Measure for Measure* affords evidence of no more significance than does, say, *Blurt Master Constable*, the would-be playwright has no help, no wit to guide him from his mentor. What the book adds up to, then, is a kind of Kinsey report of what is done, rather than what ought to be done. Thus in dealing with action, the author treats especially business, stock scenes, and incidents rather than structure, which to me involves such relationships as those between character and action and order of events. Thus we learn the materials used in the beginnings, middles, and ends, but we do not see why these incidents come in this order in terms of other events and of the emotional effects of the plays. As for the treatment of characters, Mrs. Hyde divides them not according to kinds of personalities, but by métier. Thus Falstaff is a soldier, humanized (p. 82). But even though we recognize in him soldierly qualities (not to speak of those of the decadent knight and the alehouse jester), what we remember him for is that he makes us laugh, and that laughter arises from a combination of the nature of the man and of the actions he is involved in. Finally, though following the Aristotelian method, Mrs. Hyde does not deal with one of the chief glories of Elizabethan drama—diction.

But I did not write the book: I have not the industry, patience, good critical judgment (see particularly the last chapter), nor the extraordinary sense of good theater that Mrs. Hyde shows throughout. What I especially value is her reinforcement by direct statement of earlier impressions concerning those areas in which Elizabethan drama may legitimately be called homogeneous; her evidence makes possible a new appreciation of the well-established view that older and newer forms, methods, and materials existed side by side and the reflection that during the next thirty or forty years dramatists used the same stuff over and over. And she demonstrates ably that a reshuffling of the elements of a number of plays may have an exegetical value in explaining certain types of probability of action.

This is a handsome book typographically; the type is pleasing and the many ornaments, redrawn from seventeenth-century books, delightful.

ALBERT HOWARD CARTER

University of Arkansas

*Science and English Poetry: A Historical Sketch, 1590-1950.* By DOUGLAS BUSH. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950. Pp. viii + 166. \$3.50.

I should like to have been a member of the audience at Indiana University that listened to the lectures on which Douglas Bush's *Science and English Poetry* is based. Lighted by the warmth of human contact, through sight and sound, with the author, the lectures must have been delightful indeed. Divorced from that personal contact, the book is still very interesting; but it is not evenly so. After reading the first four chapters, I found myself wondering for just what sort of reader the book would be valuable. In those four chapters, a reader who has already studied the history of English poetry and of the ideas with which Professor Bush concerns himself will find sound statements of what he already

knows, but, I think, little new matter. A reader unacquainted with the history of poetry, on the other hand, will find the discussion rather far advanced for him, and perhaps not entirely clear. A reader acquainted with the history of English poetry but not with that of the philosophical ideas concerned will probably find these chapters a valuable summary of known facts about the philosophical concepts; but it seems questionable whether there are many such readers, advanced enough in knowledge of the history of literature to be interested in Mr. Bush's presentation and yet not already acquainted with many or most of the other ideas in it. Professor Bush covers such a vast area of thought in such a short space (as he freely acknowledges, saying pleasantly, "I can only acknowledge a congenital weakness for biting off more than I can-chew") that he inevitably leaves many important aspects of his history untouched, and, also inevitably, often expounds ideas already well expounded by previous scholars.

All this was in my mind as I completed the first four chapters. But reading the fifth and sixth is a different matter. Mr. Bush has a highly admirable capacity for perceiving and adopting the right side of a controversial question (what I really mean here, I suppose, is that I usually agree with him), and the soundness and wisdom of the earlier parts of the book continue in its last two sections. In these chapters, moreover, do appear what I fail to find in the earlier ones, fresh and original points of view and conclusions. The discussion of Tennyson, for example, is not only highly persuasive but presents an attitude which I at least have not seen elaborated in print elsewhere; and the last chapter, on the twentieth century, is full of new insights and should be most illuminating to any reader at all well acquainted with the verse of our own time. If, then, there are other readers besides myself who find the early chapters largely a recapitulation of things already known, they will be well advised not to lay the book aside unfinished, but to continue to the end; for the latter parts are—as such parts should be, though they frequently are not—climactic.

GEORGE R. POTTER

*University of California*

*Newman Ivey White Memorial Issue. Library Notes: A Bulletin Issued for the Friends of Duke University Library, No. 24, July, 1950. Pp. 60.*

Newman Ivey White's sudden death on December 6, 1948, took from the world of scholarship one of its finest minds, a mind that fully exhibited the characteristics he had once listed as the mark of the teacher and the research man: "honesty, tolerance, industry, mental alertness."

Most of us knew him only through his writings, not as the "integrated being with various facets" that the present memorial is designed to reveal. James Cannon III and Lewis Patton, his friends of many years, pay a warm tribute to White in the biographical sketch with which the Bulletin opens, and Robert W. Christ closes it with a complete bibliography of the published works. But between these two Newman White is permitted to speak for himself in two previously unpublished lectures and a selection of poems.

White's awareness of the permanence of literary expression is communicated in "Our Ancient Contemporaries, The Romantic Poets," and his distinctive humor and tolerant understanding in "Adventures of a Biographer." As to the poems, they too reveal his many-sided personality and interests; for if many of them reflect in idiom and theme his close association with the Romantic Period, they also, in light and bantering vein, make Ogden Nash his mentor.

Those who have, in the masterful biography of Shelley, sensed something of the rich personality that illuminated that and White's other books, will, I am certain, read these miscellaneous writings with pleasure, and in them find further justification for the tribute here offered by his friends.

LAWRENCE J. ZILLMAN

University of Washington

*Whitman's American Fame.* By CHARLES B. WILLARD. Providence: Brown University Press, 1950. Pp. 269. \$4.00.

The subtitle, "The Growth of his Reputation in America after 1892," adequately delimits Mr. Willard's subject, and the book in large measure rests on the valuable Whitman collection of Henry Scholley Saunders, now at Brown University. The word of Whitman became for many enthusiasts the word of a new Christ, and Mr. Willard demonstrates convincingly the religious implications of the poet's pose. For the journalistic critics Whitman became a curious specimen, and the academic critics discovered much sooner than the lay public (if, indeed, the lay public has ever discovered, as Mr. Willard often implies) the possible worth of *Leaves of Grass*. Often scorned, today accepted, practically never read, Whitman as a poet has become indistinguishable from Whitman as a man. The more pity, then, that Mr. Willard's book loses a major opportunity to do more than recapitulate and that, indeed, a disturbing question will haunt his readers: can such a book ever illuminate its subject?

A book about books about a special book demands a special insight as well as a special book. Historically, yes, we may accept this book's particular divisions, 1892-1906 (the period of doubt and indecision), 1906-1914 (a stage of initial biographies and critiques establishing him as a permanent figure in our literature), 1914-1930 (intense scholarly research), and the present stage (numerous and varied detailed critical estimates). Aesthetically, we learn little or nothing from Mr. Willard's approval of Emory Holloway's denial that Whitman was a homosexual; we as readers are still concerned with the problem of explaining the sexual imagery of the poetry. "Auto-eroticism, a kind of narcissism," which faces the problem, is Jean Catel's contribution, and is perhaps inadequate in itself. The point is, we need not take our stand on an ethical basis, as Mark Van Doren did in 1935, or simply deny everything, as Henry Seidel Canby did in 1943; we have obligations to understand the poetry itself. Mr. Willard offers no special insight.

Worse, he fails to comment on the fact that socialists, anarchists, communists, spiritualists, and sincere Americans alike have hailed Whitman as their prophet, though his marshaling of the evidence is impressive and his reluctance to pass value judgments elsewhere seldom in evidence. He notes tangentially how Whitman's influence has returned via French poetry, but in a particularly disappointing chapter, "The Creative Writers," shakes up indiscriminately Carl Sandburg, Benjamin de Casseres, Hart Crane, and Christopher Morley, without demonstrating how. Even Louis Untermeyer does a better job. Mr. Willard does minimize the difficulties *Leaves of Grass* met when printed, which have been overdone even by critics like F. O. Matthiessen, who writes in *American Renaissance*, p. x, that Whitman "probably gave away more copies than were bought"; but the author fails to document his conclusions with actual records of sales, numbers of editions, or significant correlations between nineteenth-

century critical judgment and popular interest. But above and beyond all this, he does not prove the need for his own work; he does not show how Whitman was a touchstone of literary taste in this country for almost half a century, as Pope was in England; he performs his task with a faint sense of ennui. A 1916 newspaper article suggested that a reformer should not be judged by his earliest disciples, but that even so, "Walt Whitman has a good deal to answer for" (p. 116). Mr. Willard, who believes Whitman is America's greatest poet if only by the process of elimination, has a good deal to answer for to Mr. Whitman.

HAROLD OREL

*University of Michigan*

*Goethes amtliche Schriften. Vol. I: Goethes Tätigkeit im Geheimen Consilium. Part I: Die Schriften der Jahre 1776-1786.* Edited by WILLY FLACH. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1950. Pp. cvi + 462.

No expression of admiration can be strong enough to stress the eminent importance of this publication by the State Archives of Weimar. For the first time, the whole body of Goethe's governmental papers is being presented to the public, and it is indeed a present of inestimable value. Not since the publication of the great Weimar Edition and of Goethe's most relevant correspondences has source material of so unprecedented a scope and eminence been made available to the Goethe student and admirer. So far we have had no more than casual glimpses at the documents which testify to Goethe's activities as a state official and administrator; now we are being given the complete set of papers which present the highly important aspect of Goethe as statesman. Needless to say, we receive this impressive volume with the keenest interest and profound gratitude.

The present volume (it is the first of a series) presents the papers and documents which emanated from the Privy Council of the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar between 1776 and 1786, i.e., from the date of Goethe's admission to the highest administrative body of the Duchy to his departure for Italy. To be sure, this activity represents only a fraction of Goethe's administrative work, because most of the actual governing of the country was done by special committees, appointed by the Duke (and Goethe, during the first ten years of his stay in Weimar, was chairman of many of them), and the activities of these committees do not fall within the orbit of the present volume. But even of the deliberations and actions of the Privy Council the present volume gives only a very incomplete impression. In Goethe's days Saxe-Weimar was ruled by the "enlightened absolutism" of the Duke, and the Privy Council had only an advisory function. The discussions and suggestions of the Privy Council, which led to Karl August's decisions, were codified only if a written memorandum was necessary as a basis upon which the Duke was to build his ruling, or if the business concerned some outlying district which had to be informed of the Duke's wishes in writing. If the Duke chose to decide matters without the advice of his Privy Council, or if he arrived at a decision after simply discussing the matter orally with his three (since 1784 four) Councilors, no memorandum was drawn up.

This information is gained from the hundred-page introduction which the editor, Willy Flach, has provided for this volume. It is in itself a masterpiece of expository writing, familiarizing us with the exact working of the constitution and the governmental agencies of the Duchy; with the history and the procedure of the Privy Council; with the personalities of Goethe's colleagues and subordi-



nates (down to the most subaltern secretary of the Chancellery); with the special reports each member of the Council was mainly responsible for (although in almost all cases the three Privy Councilors worked as a "team"); with their salaries; with the exact dates of the meetings (sometimes as many as eight within one month); with a complete roll call of these meetings (which proves that until February, 1785, Goethe hardly ever missed a conference unless he was absent from Weimar on some official mission, while, from this date on, his attendance falls down to almost zero). It has become somewhat fashionable in our country to smile condescendingly at the ponderous minuteness and over-accuracy of "German scholarship." But I wonder whether anyone who reads Dr. Flach's introduction to this volume can fail to be impressed by an erudition and thoroughness which only the sincere devotion to a great cause and to the highest standards of painstaking research can produce in a scholar.

What about the documents themselves? There are 204 items, or rather 204 cases discussed and acted upon, one of them comprising no less than 36 items, consisting of the different statements and recommendations of the three Councilors, and of the Duke's request for further clarification prior to final action. The variety and breadth of the matters under discussion can hardly be hinted at within the framework of a short announcement. They range from such important questions as Karl August's alliance with the *Fürstenbund* to the construction of new meat stands at the market in Weimar; from the administration of the University of Jena to the permission for a cook to serve at a foreign court; from the punishment of infanticide to the procedure proper for the collection of overdue taxes; from the dispute about jurisdiction between the government and the military courts to a wigmaker's request for the employment of two apprentices; from the lifting of literary censorship to the relegation of an alcoholic student from Jena. But whatever the subject matter, and some items are very funny indeed, these documents prove that, for the sake of self-discipline, and prompted by a profound sense of responsibility, a "darling of the Gods," a poet whose first novel had electrified his country and was well on its way to becoming the most popular book of Europe, was willing to devote endless hours and unflagging energy to the routine of running the administration of a tiny principality. It almost looks like an act of self-punishment that the author of the *Sorrows of Young Werther* chose to become, in the Privy Council, the expert on fiscal questions; that the one who had composed the most beautiful and passionate lyrics in the German tongue was now penning detailed memoranda about the procurement of buckskin trousers for the Corps of Hussars. Quite apart from the immeasurable wealth of information which this volume offers, it is a monument to a great man's devotion to service for his community, a monument to the modesty of a genius whose greatest and most endearing human achievement lies in his stern self-discipline, in his renunciation of an egocentric and egotistical self-fulfillment.

OSKAR SEIDLIN

Ohio State University

Ulrich von Zatzikhoven: *Lanzelet: A Romance of Lancelot*. Translated from the Middle High German by KENNETH G. T. WEBSTER. Revised and Provided with Additional Notes and an Introduction by ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. viii + 238. \$3.50.

This is No. XLVII of the Records of Civilization, Sources, and Studies,



which are edited under the auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University. The work of the translator, Kenneth Webster, was completed after the latter's death by his friend, Roger Loomis. Ulrich's work has thus been "recorded" in a fairly smooth form of English prose. Both Webster and Loomis provided the text with detailed notes and comments, and Loomis supplied an excellent introduction and working bibliography.

While the work is sometimes disconnected and charged with incongruities, it offers opportunity for a perfect field day in Arthurian research. No one is better qualified for such philological jousting than Professor Loomis, and it must be admitted that he has made the most of a very good thing. Anyone with an appetite for Arthurian *Quellenjägeri* will be able to satisfy himself here at a "great feast of languages." In fact, the value of this record lies in the superb detail of the notes, not in the text itself, which—aside from an occasional vignette in remarkable perspective—is as mediocre an account as one could hope to read, poorly motivated and lacking in narrative depth—all because of its eclectic composition.

CARROLL E. REED

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*Gustave Flaubert et le principe d'impassibilité.* By MARIANNE BONWIT. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 33, No. 4, 1950. Pp. 263-420. \$2.00.

This volume is a major contribution to the study of Flaubert. Professor Bonwit has considered the relative absence of the intervention of Flaubert in his works, the genesis of the doctrine and its development, the degree of its realization, its variations, and its efficacy. While recognizing its source in Flaubert's psyche and in his ethics, she wisely sets it in the context of his life, his works, and his period, showing that it is a natural result of the long evolution of many factors, not a few of which lie entirely outside aesthetics. A painful awareness of the distance separating the artist from his public, a desire to write for eternity and not for the bourgeoisie of his day, a refusal to be dominated by his feelings or his sufferings, an insistence on being free from the self in order to create, all these she brings out as generative forces.

Miss Bonwit does great service to Flaubert criticism by sharply delimiting what she will mean by impassivity from what she will mean by impersonality, the latter being a reaction against romanticism as was the former, but consisting in the elimination of the "côté sentimental de son autobiographie," an emotional rather than an intellectual requirement. Impartiality she also defines, terming it the virtue of the scientist, observation without preconceptions. The three are related but must be kept distinct if analysis is to have meaning. Objectivity she properly rejects as a misleading term which was still a neologism in Flaubert's day.

Examining his personality to determine the sources of the doctrine, Miss Bonwit suggests that, because he reacted so strongly to both the grotesque and the sublime, he had particular need of calmness to integrate the stimuli. The later doctrine displaces his early cynicism, so obviously a shield to protect his easily wounded sensitivities. His nervous crisis of 1844 she sees as merely accentuating an evolution well defined before that time. She further points to the growing scientific spirit of the period (with his father and brother as immediate examples), to his mother's impassivity in the presence of disaster,

to his friend Le Poittevin, as additional sources for an impassivity which was to him an "armure nécessaire."

In the main body of her work Miss Bonwit examines Flaubert's literary productions in the light of her framework. Impassivity was only a goal or norm toward which he bent his efforts. Her approach gives many insights into the structure of the works, from the juvenilia, where the doctrine slowly evolves, to the *Bovary*, his most impassive work, and to the later ones, in which his opinions become ever more obvious (except for the *Trois Contes*). The analysis is cogent and the approach fruitful. Even in the *Bovary* Flaubert is truly impassive only in regard to conventional bourgeois morality. In his theater he abandons any effort to conceal his opinions. Miss Bonwit closes her book with the observation that the doctrine has fallen from favor today, perhaps because we have no longer the perfect equilibrium of art and science which obtained in his period.

There are few objections to be offered against this solid, scholarly work. Miss Bonwit has elected to judge the success of Flaubert's realization of his doctrine against his own stated scale, i.e., absolutely, rather than against a scale of what his contemporaries or other authors have in fact achieved, i.e., relatively. Absolute achievement being in the nature of the case impossible, Miss Bonwit does occasionally seem to me to have set up a windmill against which to tilt. I noted only one error, and that minor: on page 332 she has inadvertently applied to Boeotian Thebes a comment Flaubert made about Egyptian Thebes. This interchange leads her to mix chronology and to state that, in Greece, Flaubert learned to divorce sensuality and aesthetics. The comments in his letters from Greece on an undraped torso which he saw there would suggest the contrary. Fortunately this is of little importance to her thesis. Students of Flaubert and, more broadly, of realism will long be indebted to Miss Bonwit for her clarifications of method and for her informative conclusions.

B. F. BART

University of Michigan

*Voltaire: Lettres inédites à son imprimeur Gabriel Cramer.* Publiées avec une introduction et des notes par BERNARD GAGNEBIN. Genève: Librairie Droz; Lille: Librairie Giard, Textes Littéraires Français, 1952. Pp. 316.

Even if Diderot is still the most studied author of the French eighteenth century, there is a growing interest in Voltaire. But Voltaire scholarship has now a more solid base than before World War II. Scholars seem to realize that no papers of lasting interest can be expected on Voltaire till the hitherto known texts and sources have been carefully revised and the new material scientifically edited.

Since 1950 some important documents have been published. Voltaire's correspondence with the famous Swiss Tronchin family was edited in three volumes by Bernard Gagnebin in the Textes Littéraires Français (and in one volume by the late professor André Delattre for *Mercure de France*). Last year the director of the newly established Voltaire Institute in Geneva, Theodore Besterman, published two volume of Voltaire's notebooks, and this year Mr. Besterman will publish the first three volumes of the Collective Edition of the Correspondence of Voltaire. Planned in 50 to 60 volumes, this publication will be the

indispensable source for all future research on Voltaire and the eighteenth century.

Mr. Gagnebin's edition of Voltaire's unedited letters brings to light a good deal of unknown material. The correspondence is not complete, however, including only 342 of the more than 1,000 existing letters, but according to Mr. Gagnebin only unimportant billets have been excluded. Moreover, the notes contain all significant information from the omitted letters. As only 15 letters were dated, the dating was an almost herculean task. Even if some of the dates are based on rather subtle reasoning, the dating is both impressive and generally convincing.

As it is, this edition offers the Voltaire student many advantages. It enriches considerably his knowledge of Voltaire's sources; it throws new light on the diffusion of the philosophical ideas in the period 1755 to 1778; and it establishes definitely the authenticity of some Voltaire works, doubtful till now. Furthermore, the letters show us new sides of the activity of Voltaire. Having just seen him with his doctor and banker, the Tronchins, here he is with his publisher.

The letters enable us to follow the sophisticated maneuvers of his literary tactics. They show us how careful he was in proofreading, how well informed in typography. We cannot help admiring his untiring energy, equally occupied whether he is selling books or ideas. These letters allow us to study Voltaire at his writing table, the center of his amazing versatility. Voltaire is a marvelous letter writer, presumably the greatest in this genre.

Having already had several books on Voltaire's economical and practical activities, different studies are now required. We are still lacking a definitive work on the development of Voltaire's thought. An all-round study on Voltaire as a literary artist might not be uninteresting. The recent publication of Voltaire's English notebook, formerly unknown, calls for a new analysis of his relation to England. It is to be hoped that the latest scholarly editions will be followed by new writings on Voltaire, based on the new material. In a period looking forward to One World or at least to a United Europe, the cosmopolitan from Ferney is more alive than ever.

HENNING FENGER

New York City

#### FORGED "SMOLLETT" LETTER

To the Editor of *Modern Language Quarterly*

Sir:

A forgery forms the basis for Mr. Francesco Cordasco's recent conclusion about "Smollett and the Translation of Don Quixote" (*MLQ*, XIII [1952], 23-36). An alleged contemporary letter, attributed to Smollett, was his sole authority for considering the actual translating to be largely the work of another hand. This letter is now admitted by Mr. Cordasco to have been forged (*Philological Quarterly*, XXXI [1952], 299-300).

Colorado College  
Colorado Springs, Colo.

LEWIS M. KNAPP  
LILLIAN DE LA TORRE

## BOOKS RECEIVED

### AMERICAN

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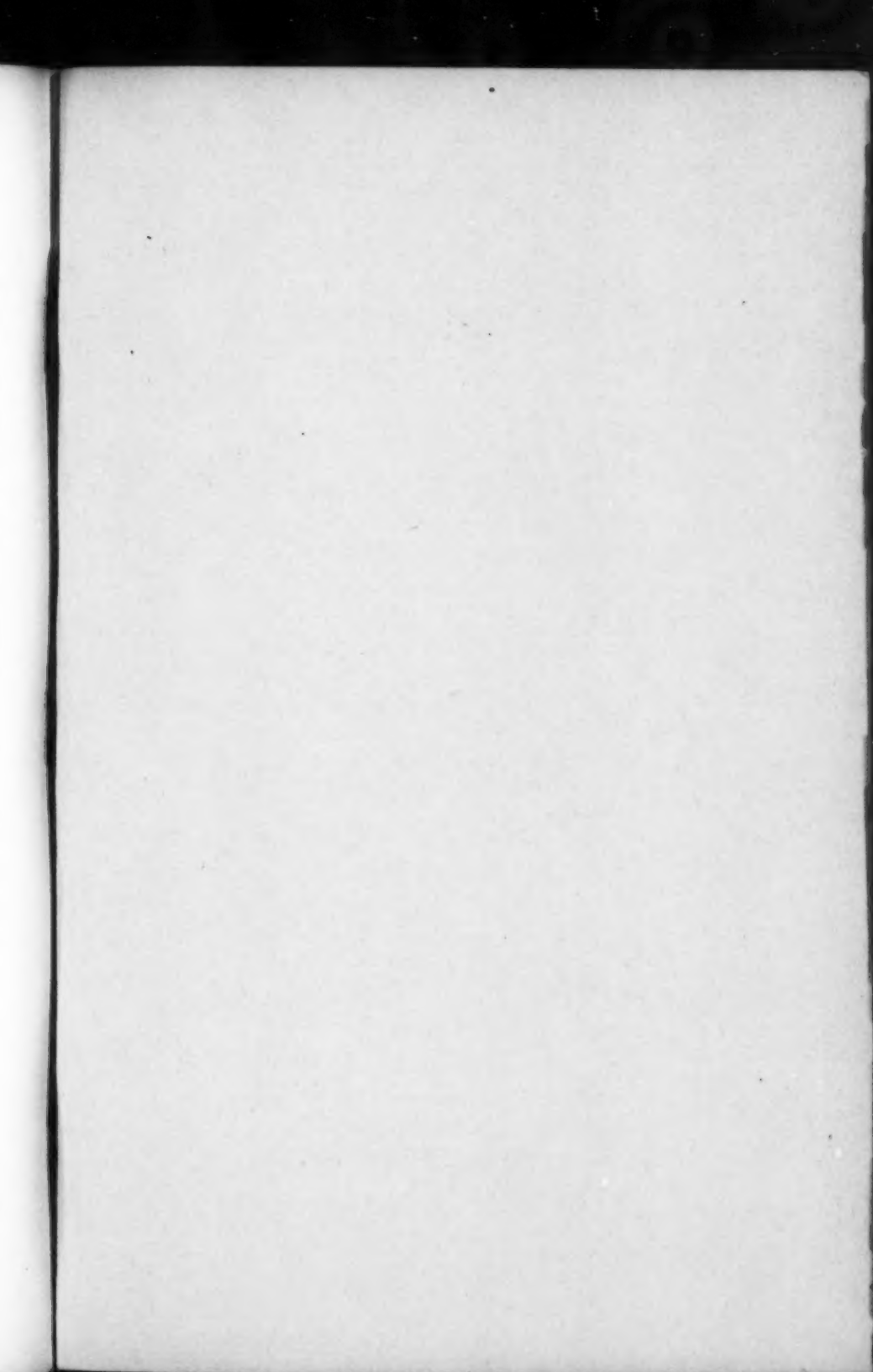
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